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REMARKS
ON A
GENERAL UNION
OF THE
BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.

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REMARKS
ON
A LEGISLATIVE UNION
OF THE PROVINCES OF
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

BY O. T.

Cobourg, U. C.
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1839.

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To the Editor of the Cobourg Star.

SIR,

It appears to me not a little strange that the newspapers of both the Canadas are totally silent in regard to the measures respecting them which are likely to be entertained during the Session of the Imperial Parliament just about to commence.

It will readily be granted that their discussion is of far more importance than many subjects which at present occupy the columns of our best Journals.—Permit me, therefore, in your able paper, to break the ice, by sending you a document against the Union of the two Canadas, which was submitted many years ago to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and which had, it is believed, some weight with the administration of the day. Should you think it worth insertion, it will be followed by remarks on the policy of a General Union of all the British Provinces of North America, being the substance of another paper presented to the Government about two years after. The document now sent is the same with the original copy, but should you find room for the second, I shall so far deviate as to adapt it to the present state of the Colonies.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

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REMARKS, &c.

A Bill was introduced into the Imperial Parliament in the Session of 1822, for uniting the two Provinces; it was printed and circulated in the Canadas. On reading it, the following paper was hastily drawn up, and transmitted to the Colonial department in April, 1822. In August of the same year, a law was passed to meet the difficulty noticed, in 28, 29, and 30 clauses of this Essay; which is to be considered as referring to the state of the Canadas in 1822, both as it respects population and commerce. Their present state in these particulars is very different, but the principles and reasonings here laid down, are as applicable as ever.

The two Canadas are at variance on the subject of Finance, for Quebec, the only Port by which they can communicate with the sea, lies within the Province of Lower Canada, and the Legislature taking advantage of this circumstance, determines in future to treat the sister Province of Upper Canada like a foreign nation. The Province of Lower Canada has been kept in great agitation for many years, through

the extraordinary conduct of the House of Assembly, and without some remedy the Colonial Government must soon stop.

1st. Canada was considered by France in no other light than that of a military outpost, and had no commerce except that of Fur. The inhabitants at the conquest, amounting to nearly 70,000, cultivated a narrow strip of land very badly on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

2d. By the capitulation dated at Montreal, 8th Sept. 1760, the inhabitants are allowed the free use of their religion, but in regard to their obligation of paying tithes to the Priests, or enjoying their former laws, they are to depend upon the King's pleasure.

3d. By the fourth article of the definitive Treaty of Peace between France, Great Britain and Spain, signed at Paris, 10th February, 1763, His Britannic Majesty on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic Religion to the inhabitants of Canada; he will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may possess the worship of their religion, according to the rights of the Romish Church, "as far as the Laws of Great Britain permit."

4th. The proclamation of 1763, after the regular cession of the country, declares in the most solemn manner, that all the rights and privileges secured to Britons by their laws and constitution, should be extended to the new settlers, and promises a House of Assembly as soon as the State of the Province would permit, and in the mean time the ordinances of 17th September and 6th of November 1764, of the Governor and Council established the laws of England.

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5th. In consequence of the guarantees contained in the proclamation, and the establishment of English laws, there was a great influx of Settlers into the Province, who justly considered that their future constitution was secured to them by the strongest pledges.

6th. The fulfilment of the promises in the proclamation, was retarded by public events. The other American Colonies opposed the Parent State, and their Assemblies were found active in organizing rebellion. Alarmed at this general revolt, the British Ministers declared that a change from despotism to complete freedom in Canada would be unwise, and certain to produce bad effects, and therefore brought forward, in 1774, the Quebec Bill.

The tendency of this Statute was to keep Canada distinct and different from the other Colonies, in every thing essential to Government, Laws, Religion, Manners and Language.

7th. The Quebec Bill repeals the laws of England, retaining only the Criminal Law, and re-establishing the French Law, which has produced, and still produces endless collisions and perplexities, and this bill has made a permanent distinction between the English and French part of the population. The French preserve the superiority in Religion, Laws, Manners, Customs and Language, and the English still feel as if they were in a foreign land.

8th. The Quebec Bill, as might have been foreseen, was particularly obnoxious to the British Settler, and so reasonable were their complaints that an alteration in its enactments became necessary.

9th. In doing this many difficulties presented themselves in the general principle, as well as in the par-

ticular concessions made to the French part of the population by the Quebec bill.

10th. To remedy or avoid them it was judged necessary to divide the Government of Quebec into two Provinces, in order to leave the Religion and Laws, &c. of that part of the country inhabited by the French as they were placed by the Quebec Bill; and to confer upon the other part, inhabited by English and American Settlers, a separate Government.

11th. Mr. Pitt declared that his grand object in dividing the country into two distinct Provinces, was to put an end to the disputes and competitions between the old French inhabitants, who reside chiefly in L. Canada, and the new settlers from England and the American States, who were principally fixed in Upper Canada, and were daily increasing. He contended that the only method of reconciling the jarring interests and opposite views of the inhabitants, was by giving them two Legislatures, in one of which the ancient Canadians might have the ascendancy, and in the other the new settlers; as animosity and confusion must arise from uniting in the same Legislature persons so dissimilar in religion, language, manners and character; the conquerors and the conquered—some attached to the English, some to the French laws. He trusted, however, that the French would hereafter voluntarily adopt the English jurisprudence, from a conviction of its being preferable to their own, which would be far better than using compulsion on the subject.

12th. This reasoning prevailed, and the 31st of the late King was enacted, dividing the government of Quebec into two Provinces, and conferring a con-

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stitution on each, similar in all respects to that of Great Britain.

13th. The first difficulty was foreseen by the enactors of this law, and the 46th clause inserted, which amply provides for every such contingency, as it reserves to the Imperial Parliament the power of enacting laws "for establishing regulations or prohibitions, or for imposing, levying or collecting duties "for the regulation of navigation, or for the regulation of the commerce, to be carried on between the "said two provinces, or between either of the said "Provinces and any other part of his Majesty's dominions, or between either of the said Provinces "and any foreign country or state; or, for appointing and directing the payment of drawbacks of such "duties so imposed; or to give to his Majesty, his "Heirs or Successors, any power or authority, by and "with the advice and consent of such Legislative "Council and Assemblies respectively, to vary or repeal any such law or laws, or any part thereof, or "in any manner to prevent or obstruct the execution "thereof.

14th. The second difficulty seems incidental to all free government. Houses of Assembly are unruly and turbulent in Colonies, because the local government has only trifling patronage, and consequently little or no influence.

15th. As these difficulties have now continued several years, many think that the only remedy is the union of the two Provinces under one Legislature.

16th. In order to perceive the effect of this remedy it becomes necessary to consider the causes which at first produced the separation: are they removed, or do they continue in full force?

17th. To have British feeling we must think in English; we must have British laws and institutions. The constitution of Great Britain has indeed been given to the Frenchmen of Lower Canada, but their feelings and characters have always been and still are formed by a language, a literature and manners, entirely foreign, and often contrary to those of Britain, and the results have been entirely opposite to what would have happened in a Colony of Englishmen.— The House of Assembly in Lower Canada is French, and carries everything by French ideas of fitness.— Never has that Branch of the Legislature displayed the liberal views which should characterize a body intrusted with a large share of the important business of making laws and ordinances for the peace, welfare and good government of the Province. A spirit of party has uniformly prevailed and extended to the minutest formalities, and so far have they been from adopting the British jurisprudence, so liberally expected by Mr. Pitt, that they have opposed all improvement, lest the Canadian (i.e. French) character should be lost.

18th. It follows therefore irresistibly, that as to the French, or old inhabitants, Mr. Pitt's reasons for dividing the Province of Quebec still exist in their full force.

19th. In Upper Canada British feeling has been cherished. The benefits of the Constitution have been felt and acknowledged. Indeed everything there is British, therefore on the part of the English and American settler the reasons which produced the separation still remain.

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20th. Suppose a Union : you make both provinces discontented, perhaps rebellious. The inhabitants of Upper Canada will feel it as a punishment. Their property will diminish in value, and the settlements will languish ; for the presence of the local government gives them life.

21st. The united Provinces would still be governed by the majority of French votes, totally regardless of a stronger minority. Every thing would be French and Roman Catholic, and everything English and Protestant hated. Feeling their situation degraded, and oppressed, and hopeless, it is even dangerous to surmise the length to which the inhabitants of the Upper Province might be driven.

22d. Suppose an equal representation is given to each, and that the United Legislature is composed of 50 members from Lower, and 50 members from Upper Canada. Will this cure the evil ? In Lower Canada the House of Assembly consists at present of 50 members. Of these usually

Against Government,.....	40
In favour of “ 	10

Majority against Government.....30

In Upper Canada the present house of 40 members commonly divides 25 for and 15 against government. Suppose Upper Canada to have 50 members the division would stand by the same proportion

For Government,...	31
Against “ ...	19

Majority for government 12

United Legislature.

Lower Canada, against government,	40	
Upper Canada, against government,	19	
	—	59
Lower Canada, in favor of government,...	10	
Upper Canada, do. do.	31	
	—	41
		—

Majority against Government in the
United Legislature..... 18

This is the most favorable result that can be anticipated.

23d. The number of inhabitants in Lower Canada amounts to 350 thousand ; in Upper Canada, to 150 thousand. It is not therefore likely that the Imperial Parliament would be disposed to give as many representatives to Upper as to Lower Canada.

24th. Nor is unanimity to be looked for in such United Legislature ; for the parties might and would join against government ; the fiercest contentions would rage in respect to all measures which seemed to benefit one of the provinces more than the other. Such a near equality would excite the most deadly jealousies, and arm one province against the other.

25th. The consequence of any union at present will be, that British subjects who have uniformly behaved well—men who have proved their loyalty thro' two wars, and with the most precious sacrifices, will be placed for a century to come under the dominion of men who have no conception of the British constitution, or the duties it requires.

26th. Such a Union will save no expense. The Courts of Justice in both Provinces must be kept up,

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for the laws will still remain different, and all local establishments must be retained.

27th. While there are two provinces, the Upper becomes a great check to the Lower.

PROPOSED REMEDIES FOR THE FIRST DIFFICULTY.

28th. The contest between the provinces in respect to the revenue, arises from the assumption of powers by the Provincial Legislatures which the constitution did not grant them. All their imposts upon goods, wares, and merchandise, coming from Great Britain, from sister Colonies, or Foreign States, are illegal, because this power is retained by the Imperial Parliament.

29th. Should it be deemed unwise for the Imperial Parliament to resume the whole of this power, a short act might confirm such duties as have been already imposed by the Provincial Legislatures, prohibiting the future exercise of such powers, and directing the proportion of duties to be awarded to each province on the basis of population. A new census for the purpose of settling the proportion to be made once in five years,

30th. Or the powers retained by the 46th clause of the Constitutional Act might be delegated to a committee of both Legislatures, to meet once in four years, or oftener in cases of emergency. The committee to consist of an equal number of members from each province, to be elected in form and manner as follows:—The House of Assembly in each province shall once in every four years elect—— members of its own body, and the Legislative Council in each Province—— members. The Governors of the respective Provinces shall appoint one member

each; the one appointed by the Governor-in-chief to be Chairman, or Speaker, and in his absence the one appointed by the Governor of Upper Canada.— This committee shall meet as soon after its election as the Governor shall deem meet. It shall determine the proportion of duties to be paid to each province respectively, within ten days after its first sitting; which determination shall continue in force 4 years, unless in cases of emergency, requiring a meeting before the expiration of that time, or preventing a meeting for a longer period. In either case such proportion to continue till altered by the committee.

This committee shall likewise have power to make all laws for establishing regulations, or prohibitions, or for levying, imposing or collecting duties, &c. (in virtue of the said 46th clause), but such laws shall not take effect till the end of the next coming sessions of the legislatures of the two provinces, nor even then, if remonstrated against by both Legislatures, which shall be considered a repeal. The remonstrance of one Legislature to have no effect. The committee shall have no power of appropriation other than for the expenses incidental to its meeting.

PROPOSED REMEDIES FOR THE SECOND DIFFICULTY.

31st. The civil list should be resumed, as the crown revenue, King's rights, &c., amount to within a very few thousand pounds of what is sufficient to support the civil government. The difference is not worth contending for, and may be paid as heretofore.

32d. The English language should be made the language of the courts of justice, of the Legislature, of all legal writings after a certain day, and the French prohibited. Till the English tongue be-

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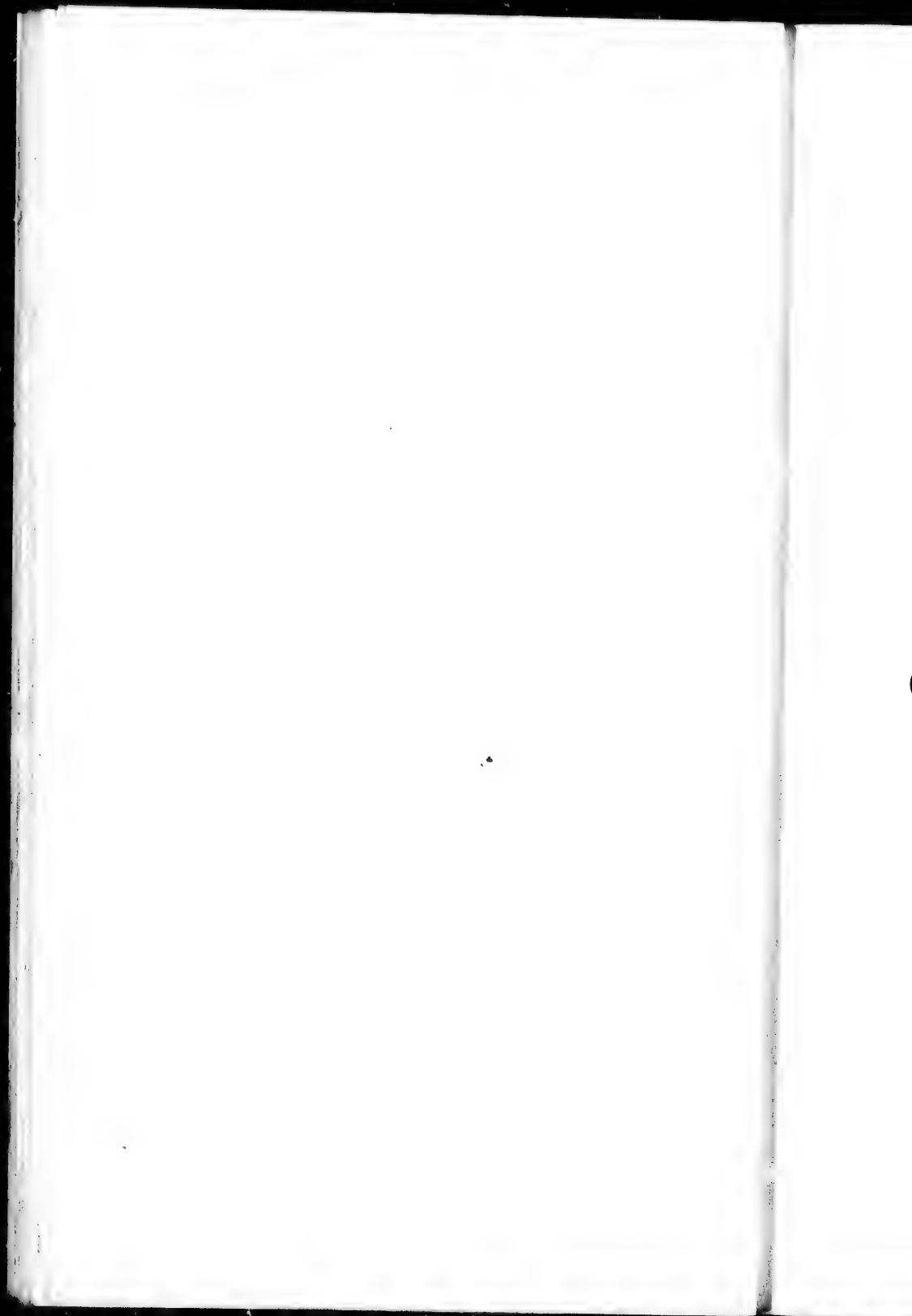
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come the prevailing language, we shall never make a British Colony of Lower Canada; nor will this language ever be cultivated till it becomes the interest of individuals to learn it.

33d. The commercial laws of Great Britain should be introduced, and no part of the French law retained, except that which respects fixed property, granted according to the laws of France, before the conquest.

34th. Were these measures adopted, Lower Canada would, in thirty years, become in reality a British colony, and both provinces would assimilate so much as to render it easy to unite them;—but a union at present would increase the evils which it may be intended to cure. It is an ulterior measure, which requires long preparation, and the adoption of many previous steps.

35. That some strong measures must be soon taken respecting the Canadas by the parent state, appears evident from this, that the present policy is daily separating them more and more, and rendering them foreigners to one another.



OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
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OF ALL THE
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OBSERVATIONS, &c.

LETTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Some of the most enlightened men in both the Canadas, and I believe in the other Provinces, have for many years considered a General Union of the British Territories in North America, a measure of the greatest importance; and not only highly expedient, but likely to produce the most beneficial results both to the Colonies and the Parent State.

The policy of such a measure had frequently engaged my attention before the Union of the two Canadas was projected: but since that has been in agitation, I have set myself to examine it more minutely. And it certainly appears to me that every argument that can be adduced in favour of the partial, applies with much more force to the General Union; and that the probability of its success is much better founded. Indeed many persons of great intelligence are apprehensive that the advantages expected from uniting the Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada, will not be realized. And their dislike to the measure arises not from its Principle, which is certainly good, nor from any personal or selfish motives,

but from the fear that the collision of parties will be so great and so nearly balanced as to paralyse every effort to promote the prosperity of the Provinces.

In this scheme it is not my intention to enter very minutely into the subject, but to confine myself to a brief outline of the Constitutional Powers to be conferred on the Legislature—subjoining a few of the advantages which are, in my opinion, certain to follow its adoption.

In regard to danger from the United States, of which many speak with much fear, I am not under the slightest apprehension. But since it is a danger which may be felt, as it has already been, when Great Britain is fully employed with other enemies, I may be permitted to indulge in a few remarks on its nature and the means of checking it, as they are not commonly understood.

The United States of America can only become troublesome to Great Britain as a Naval Power. But so long as we retain our North American Provinces, we possess the means of checking its growth and preventing it from ever becoming formidable.

The basis upon which the Naval Power of the American States rests, is much narrower than is commonly apprehended. Her nursery for seamen is confined to a small portion of her coast and her fisheries. This portion of coast stretches from New York to the River St. Croix, where the British Provinces commence: and will scarcely measure five hundred miles—an extent altogether insignificant when compared to the sea board which Great Britain still retains.—The New England States which occupy these five hundred miles of coast, supply all the native sailors of the United States. For you can hardly find one

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in any vessel not born north-east of New York.— Hence, if we examine the crews of American vessels, Merchant or National, we seldom find a sailor from the States, south of the Hudson, the inhabitants of which are, from inclination or habit, averse from becoming Mariners. This accounts for the vast number of Foreigners always to be found navigating American Ships. Comparatively speaking therefore, they have very few native seamen, and are obliged to have recourse to Europeans and chiefly to Englishmen to complete their crews.

The fisheries which they are permitted to carry on along the coasts of the British Provinces and on the Banks of Newfoundland, produce more native seamen than all their other navigation. Nevertheless the numbers from both sources are quite inadequate to the manning of a formidable or extensive Navy.

Were the United States in possession of the British Provinces, matters would be very different: for then they would possess a more extensive coast than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the finest Fisheries in the world.

But as matters now stand it is only requisite that we consolidate the Provinces in order to make them exceedingly powerful. Unite their interests by judicious measures, and you promote enterprize and encourage the Fisheries on the coast, and Commerce and Agriculture in the interior.

Every advantage is in our favour. All that is wanting is, a strong and united Government which would attract Capitalists, urge improvements connecting more intimately the different Colonies by Canals, Roads, Rail-ways and Steam Navigation, and thus render their resources a kind of common stock by

which they would become more intimately acquainted, and by which a most important and valuable internal Commerce among themselves would be produced.— Fisheries alone present an inexhaustible mine of wealth, and strength. Our people can dry their Fish upon their own shores, and many of the fishermen may carry on their business with profit and even sleep in their own houses at night.

The magnitude of these Fisheries and their inestimable value, are perhaps best seen, by looking at their importance to the United States, not merely as their chief nursery for seamen, but as a most productive source of wealth and Commerce.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, the Americans had upwards of 1500 fishing busses, most of which, on the breaking out of hostilities were transformed into Privateers, to prey upon our trade; and with such effect, that they captured nearly one fifth of all the merchantmen then belonging to Great Britain: and so much discontent was produced by commercial losses and misfortunes, as to pave the way for the dismemberment of the empire.

Last War the effect was similar, and the loss of merchantmen during the first eighteen months was quite appalling.

Now had we a general Government of sufficient weight and ability to take advantage of our territorial situation and to call forth our numerous resources, the Canadas would become Agricultural Gardens to feed the West Indies, and the coasts of the Lower Provinces would be covered with Fishermen following their business with far more convenience and advantage than the Americans; and being able to sell cheaper would first rival and then gradually drive

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them out of the market. At the same time the Fisheries, ever increasing, would become an abundant nursery of seamen, capable of checking at any moment the Naval Power of our neighbours: and this, without any great expense to the Imperial Government. Indeed, to copy a speech made at a late public meeting, the British North American Provinces possess the elements of a mightier Empire than any other portion of this Continent.

Place before you the Map of America. Mark the vast extent of sea coast which these Colonies enjoy. Pass your eye round the Bay of Fundy—along Cape Sable—the Rocks of Nova Scotia and the Shores of the Gulph of St. Lawrence on both sides to Quebec. Add to these, the Coast of Labrador to Hudson's Bay—the Shores of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Prince Edward, Anticosti, and many other Islands, scattered over this immense surface, and you have a sea board far more extensive than any other nation of the world possesses, and embracing the most profitable and inexhaustible Fisheries on the Globe.—Here are materials of power and public wealth, which are beyond calculation, and of a naval force far superior to that of the parent state if shorn of her Colonies.

Cast your eyes again on the Map and you will perceive that the British possessions *enfilade* and therefore command the whole coast of North America. With fleets at Halifax, St. Johns, Newfoundland, and Bermuda, no ship without our permission durst put to sea from Cape Sable to New Orleans, nor any part of this immense Coast or any West India Island be safe from the attack of this great Northern Empire.

Nor is this all. Open the St. Lawrence for a Ship Navigation,—join the Lakes of Canada, works already nearly completed, and you add nearly five thousand miles of coast, and a fertile country nearly equal to the half of Europe.

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LETTER II.

What would Great Britain be without Ships, Colonies and Commerce?

Had the mischievous paradoxes in which several writers on Political Æconomy have lately indulged, only produced contempt for that branch of knowledge and proved that with a few trifling exceptions it had gone back since the publication of Dr. Smith's famous Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, it would have been matter of merriment rather than of complaint. But when we find it gravely asserted that the British Empire is independent of Foreign Commerce,—that she would be much better shorn of her Colonies, which are a burthen without profit—that Trade should be entirely free and allowed to take its level as water, &c. &c., and that such assertions are not only credited by many, but are leading to serious blunders in Legislation, it is time to expose their wickedness and folly.

In regard to Free Trade, it may be conceded, that were it left by all nations completely without restriction, the advantage on the whole would be in favour of the British Empire, because of her various possessions, productions, capital and knowledge. But even in this case, it would be a question of debtor and creditor. With poor nations such as Sweden, Denmark, &c. the advantage would be against her, while to them it would be positively great. At the same time her general commerce with all nations, would yield a fa-

vonrable balance. But so long as other nations continue their restrictions &c., it is unwise in Great Britain to remove hers in respect to such. And it betrays extreme ignorance of Trade, to make, under such circumstances, reciprocal treaties with nations that can offer no equivalent advantages in return.

Great Britain and Ireland are inferior in climate and fertility of soil to many countries in Europe : but their position affords them advantages far more than sufficient to counterbalance this inferiority. The Sea Coast which they possess, admitting in our estimate the numerous small Islands attached, and the sinuosities of the land, is not perhaps less than four thousand miles. Their situation is truly admirable for Trade and Commerce. The two principal Islands are of irregular forms, full of deep Gulphs, Bays and Harbours, favourable to a communication with a great many portions of the world. On one side they open to the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. On the other, they command the entrance of the Baltic. On the third, they present an easy access to the Continent of Europe. The possessions of the British Empire are dispersed through the whole world. In the North and West and South of Europe—West and South of Africa, and East of Asia, and North of America.—Possessed of the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena, she commands the passage to India. With Gibraltar and Malta, she commands the navigation of the Mediterranean, and secures a permanent influence over Sicily and Sardinia. The Ionian islands have given her the power of directing the councils of Greece, and the power of opening or shutting at her pleasure, the straits of the Dardanelles. In every part of the world she possesses the most central points and the

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principal commercial ports. She has Colonies or do-
minions in every sea and in every quarter of the globe,
and in every variety of climate. Many are of an ex-
tent unknown to the mother country, and bounded
by such barriers only as Nature herself has placed in
mountains and rivers, deserts and the ocean.

What have the Colonies made her? The centre
of civilization of the whole world. Foreign nations,
however remote or barbarous, derive light and heat
from her industry, enterprise and knowledge. By
calling forth her skill and energies, they have ena-
bled her to embrace in her gigantic grasp the circuit
of the globe, and by their means she has become the
emporium of universal commerce. Her career has
indeed been glorious, and is still proceeding with ac-
celerating swiftness in promoting the improvement of
the human race. She sends Letters, Science and
the Arts to hundreds of millions whom she has united
in one common bond of allegiance.

She has established Colonies in every quarter of
the world, and has thus fulfilled one of the noblest
and most beneficial purposes of a great nation. She
has peopled uninhabited regions, brought savage na-
tions within the pale of order and law, and taught
them to feel the dignity of their nature, and to exert
the mighty energy of their minds. By her Colonies
she provides for the redundancy of her population,
and presents to meritorious enterprise and industry
the means and opportunity of successful exertion.—
Moreover, they have enabled her to form at inter-
mediate points, links of communication between the
remotest lands to which her commerce extends, and
to impart to all the vast benefits of her talents and
labour.

The most cursory inspection of the map of the vast possessions of the British Empire, suggests the idea of a boundless theatre, offering infinite opportunities for the exercise of the most enlightened policy.

What has Great Britain done? Rather ask, to what nation does Europe—the world—owe its liberty? Did she not stand alone the safeguard of nations, and meet with increasing courage the united efforts of all Europe and America? Never was a contest seemingly so unequal maintained, and never in the annals of time was such a glorious triumph acquired, by any people. But could Great Britain and Ireland, without Ships, Colonies and Commerce, have made exertions so truly gigantic, and sacrifices so lofty? Next to the moral courage of her people and the justice of her cause, we discover her strength, activity and power in her insular situation—in her commanding position and her 40 Colonies, which prevent the possibility of shutting her out from any quarter.

Her Arts and Manufactures, her Industry and astonishing Commerce, her enemies could neither diminish nor make less profitable.

In her many Colonies, which are like so many planets surrounding her as their sun, or like so many limbs keeping up a perpetual communication with the heart, by which mutual strength and energy are conveyed, she presents the most beneficent and formidable Empire that the world has ever beheld.

Deprive Great Britain of her Ships, Colonies and Commerce, (and they must stand or fall together) and the sun of her glory is set. She will soon lose Ireland, and from being the most powerful nation in the world, take her place in a few years by the side of Denmark.

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LETTER III.

I now proceed to give a general sketch of a Constitution for British North America.

I am deeply sensible of the defects of written constitutions—that like legal enactments, they are liable to misconstruction, and are often made to admit of various interpretations, whatever care may have been taken in their composition. This objection is not however so strong against a Colonial plan of government as that of a sovereign State: because an appeal may be had to the Imperial Legislature, in all material difficulties. It is right to premise that the scheme proceeds upon the presumption that the Governments of the Provinces remain as at present, excepting such curtailment of power, &c., as must be vested in the General Government.

I.

The Legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a General Assembly or Parliament, consisting of the Governor General or Viceroy, a Legislative Council and House of Assembly. Such General Assembly or Parliament to continue six years from the day of returning the writs for choosing the same, and no longer, subject, nevertheless, to be sooner prorogued and dissolved by the Governor General or Viceroy.

II.

The Legislative Council shall be composed of six members from each Province, to be chosen by the

Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the Government of the several Colonies from their respective Legislative Council; or of persons selected by the Crown from the most prominent men in the respective Provinces.

III.

The House of Assembly shall be composed of — Members chosen by the Provincial Assemblies from among their own number; or by a special election, but with a higher qualification, both on the part of the electors and elected, than is required in the Provincial Assemblies.

IV.

That a deputation of three members from the Legislative Council, selected by the Governor General from that body, or three out of six proposed by the Council for his choice, and six chosen by the House of Assembly from among its own members, have seats in the House of Commons.

V.

This General Legislature or Parliament shall have power

1. To lay on and collect taxes, duties and imports, the same to be uniform throughout the Union, and not repugnant to the laws and policy of the Parent State.

2. To assume and pay the debts, and provide for the peace and welfare of the Union.

3. To establish uniform commercial regulations between the different Provinces, and between them and foreign countries; provided the same be not repugnant to the laws of the United Kingdom.

4. To determine all disputes that may arise between the Provinces.

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5. To regulate the navigation of rivers and lakes common to two or more Provinces, or common to any Province or Provinces and a foreign power.

6. To open internal communication for the general advantage, such as Roads, Canals, &c.

7. To establish and regulate the Post Office and post roads within the union.

8. To adopt and establish a uniform system of Militia Laws, and to provide for calling forth the Militia: to execute the laws, to suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

VI.

All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Assembly; but the Legislative Council may propose or concur with amendments, as in other Bills.

VII.

There shall be a Supreme Court to take cognizance of causes respecting the breach of the Union Laws, and questions between inhabitants of the different Provinces, and between them and foreigners.

VIII.

This tribunal shall likewise be a Court of Appeal in certain cases from Provincial Courts; and its decision shall be final. All proceedings to be in the English language, not only in the Supreme Court, but in all the inferior courts of the Colonies.

IX.

Persons charged in any Province with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in any of the other Provinces of the Union, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the Colony from which he fled, be delivered up, to be

removed into the province having jurisdiction of the crime.

X.

The portion of the Revenue at the disposal of the General Legislature for public purposes, shall be the surplus after defraying the expense of the civil government of the respective Provinces, which shall be settled by a general enactment.

XI.

Several other powers, such as impeachment, Regulation and protection of the fisheries, &c. might be conferred on the Supreme Legislature.

ADVANTAGES.

The advantages resulting from this General Union possessing the free and liberal Constitution which has been briefly noticed, are many and important. We shall mention a few of the more obvious.

1. Such a Union would connect the different Provinces so intimately, as must insure in a little time a community of feeling as well as interest, and thus carry along with it the popular voice.

2. The number of members being comparatively few and intelligent, would be more easily guided to right principles; and being composed of the most influential men from all the Colonies, a more correct policy would be adopted in their proceedings, than can be expected from the Provincial Legislatures.

3. A seat in the Legislative Council or Assembly would become a great and honorable object of ambition; and success would produce nearly the same effect on aspiring young men, as a title in Great Britain.

4. This superior Legislature would be naturally

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attached to the Parent State as a link of connection ; and being composed of the most eminent men of all the Colonies, their good sense would induce them to value this advantage as the palladium of their safety and civil rights—the source of their prosperity and future prospects. Moreover, the deputation to the House of Commons would identify the Union with the Parent State, and insure its adherence, from the conviction that such an intimate connection was inseparable from a community of interests.

5. This Union, by consolidating the resources of the Provinces, and directing them with unity of design, would become a complete barrier to encroachments from the United States—a new and inexhaustible field of laudable ambition for our youth, much beyond anything now before them, would be opened. Hence a love of their country would be strengthened, and the United Provinces, from their rapid increase of population, and its attachment to British institutions, would daily become more formidable in war, and respectable in peace.

6. In regard to the Province of Lower Canada, the feelings and apprehensions which at present distract its peace, would gradually subside without any disagreeable struggle. The Canadian character would by degrees sink into the English without irritation ; for they could never expect to acquire a paramount influence in a Legislature of which they were only a component part. And as the language of the Parent State would be the language of the superior Legislature in its proceedings—of the Courts of Justice, and all other public business, every man wishing to attain eminence must study to acquire it.

7. The great ease with which the Colonies would

be governed is not the least advantage. All communications of importance would be from one instead of six governments; and the little details, at present so perplexing, would find their solution from the superior government.

8. The Colonies are at present very liable to become estranged from each other, and to adopt different views respecting their own interests, and their communications with foreign States. The Union would cure these evils by preserving inviolable the interests of each, and adopting one uniform rule for all in their intercourse with foreign powers and with one another.

9. The connection between the British North American Colonies and the West Indies, would soon become more intimate. Commercial intercourse would no longer be confined to one Province, but would range through the whole. Halifax in Nova Scotia, St. Johns and St. Andrews in New Brunswick, instead of being almost unknown to the Canadas, might soon become places of general depot, and the ports at which Canadians might often embark for England. Indeed, the liberal commercial policy now adopted by the Mother Country, cannot be rendered so beneficial to the Colonies in their present disjointed state as when united in their views and interests.

10. Another advantage of infinite importance would be the greater facility with which the moral and religious improvement of the population might be conducted, and institutions established similar to those in the Parent State, by which they would learn to distinguish between liberty and licentiousness, and between social tranquillity and anarchy.

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LETTER IV.

I am aware that with many able and respectable men, a General Union is in bad odour, and appears liable to the most serious objections. Of these we shall now examine such as have been most prominently put forward.

1st. It may be said that such a general Legislature might become the focus of Rebellion, and give unity and system against the Parent State, were misunderstandings to arise.

But it is certainly much more probable that if such misunderstandings are general, the Imperial Government would attend to the representations of the General Legislature of the Union, backed, enforced and explained as they would be by the deputation in the House of Commons representing the United Colonies. Had there been such a Representation and such a union as is here proposed, the American Revolution never would have taken place. And at this day the United Kingdom, with North America from Mexico to the Pole, would have presented the most powerful and sublime confederacy which the world has ever seen. But this glorious spectacle was prevented by treachery and weakness on the one hand, and reckless ambition, unnatural rebellion and unprincipled selfishness on the other.

2d. But such a government might join itself to the United States as an ally, or become part of that vast Republic.

This general government, like every other government, would look to its own interest and to the continuance of its own power, both of which would be best promoted by continuing faithful; since Great Britain has much more in her power to give, and therefore much more to take away; and has hitherto been felt only by acts of kindness. For the General Government to join the United States would be to sign its own destruction; and to become incorporated would be still worse. The inhabitants of British North America are quite sensible that they would gain nothing but lose much by attaching themselves to their neighbors. Moral principle, the love of their country, the glory of being Britons, and—if you will—pride, interest and ambition forbid such an unnatural conjunction.

3d. But difficulties may arise between the General Government and the Provincial Governments.

Such can produce no serious or lasting trouble.—The questions at issue will undergo a thorough discussion in the General Parliament, and as the members which compose it are sent by the different Colonies, they will be naturally jealous of their rights and privileges, and will not suffer injustice to be done to any particular Province, as the next case (were a precedent once established) might be their own.—Even allowing the violent supposition that wrong was done, there is a dernier resort in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, where the Colonies have a voice.

4th. It may be said that the General Legislature would have nothing to do.

The business might perhaps, after the first and second sessions, be, for a few years, soon dispatched ;

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but it would rapidly increase. In truth, many things of vast importance would immediately engage its attention. Were it otherwise, this objection may be easily disposed of. The General Legislature need not be called together every year. A discretionary power may be lodged in the Viceroy with his Council to summon it once in two years, or every year if necessary. It might also be a royal instruction that the General Legislature meet at a time when the inferior are not in session. But all this is mere matter of regulation.

5th. It may be argued that the Supreme Court cannot be one of appeal for Lower Canada, because its members would be ignorant of the Civil and French law.

The weakness of this objection appears from the fact that the Chief Justice of Lower Canada, with the exception of the present and the last, has been commonly a Lawyer from the English bar. Messrs. Osgoode, Elmsley and Alcock, Westminster Barristers, were successively Chief Justice. Moreover; appeals from the Scotch Courts, are finally decided in the House of Lords, where the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, an English Lawyer, generally prevails. Yet the Scotch law is different from the English, and similar to that of Lower Canada.

6th. But it may be urged that a General Union meets not the principal difficulty—which is, to make the French of Lower Canada gradually English; and to give to the British population the requisite share of political power.

Now it is presumed that this difficulty is in a great degree met and explained in the sixth advantage arising out of the General Union: but perhaps to re-

move it entirely, it will be expedient 1st. To continue the law suspending the Constitution of Lower Canada for fifteen years : 2nd. To select from the Special Council of the Governor General or Viceroy, the proportion of members to serve in the Council of the General Legislature : 3rd. To divide the Province into so many portions as are equal to the number of members assigned to Lower Canada for the House of Assembly of the general Legislature, putting a higher qualification than at present, on the electors and elected. 4th. To pour in during the fifteen years of suspension of the Constitution, British subjects, so that by that time they may be equal to the French, and so regulate the counties, that the British may have an equal share in the representation. These measures and a change of language in all matters of public business or record, would gradually change Lower Canada into a British Colony. In truth, the vast influx of emigrants would of itself give, in a short time, the preponderance to the British population in Lower Canada.

7th. There appears perhaps little in the shape of a serious objection to the General Union, though unquestionably many difficulties will present themselves in the details : yet not so great as must be surmounted in joining the two Provinces.

Seldom does it occur in the progress of Legislation that a measure pregnant with results so grand and beneficial is required : and if the great William Pitt considered the Constitution which he conferred upon the Canadas one of the glories of his life, what glory may be expected to redound to the Statesman who gives a free Constitution to the British North American Colonies ; and by consolidating them into one

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Territory or Kingdom, forms them into a Nation, acting in unity and under the protection of the British Empire : and thus preventing for ever the sad consequences that might arise from a rival Power getting possession of their shores.

LETTER V.

As this scheme proceeds upon the principle of leaving the inferior Legislatures as they are, only depriving them of such powers as are to be transferred to the General Legislature, it may be convenient to enter a little into the detail.

The Counsellors from each state are proposed to be equal in number. Such an arrangement has been adopted in the constitution of the United States, but it is not new. History presents many leagues and compacts among independent and sovereign States, which, unequal in size, yet enjoyed an equal share in the common councils. For besides the spirit of amity which such an equality exhibits, it is attended by many solid advantages.

1st. It is a constitutional recognition of the right of each state to enjoy all the advantages of the Union.

2d. It preserves one State or Province from being incorporated in another, or from having any of its rights and privileges curtailed.

3d. It becomes a restraint upon rash Legislation.

No law can be passed without first having a majority of the Commons or population of all the Colonies as represented in the House of Assembly—and then a majority of states as represented in the Legislative Council.

Should any suppose that two Houses are not necessary, I answer that the second House doubles the security of the people by requiring the concurrence of

two distinct bodies to the passing of every measure. It likewise forms an impediment to intemperate and pernicious resolutions which a single house, especially if numerous, is apt to fall into by yielding to the impulse of sudden and violent passions, or in being seduced by factious leaders.

The period of their service might be six years :— one third to retire as the Senators of the United States do, every second year ; that the members may acquire a due acquaintance with the principles and objects of Legislation—that mutability in public measures may be avoided—and that a due responsibility for which they are amenable, be attached to their character.

In regard to the number of Legislative Councillors, or Senators, from each Province, it is proposed that they be six. This number, had there been any probability of new Colonies being from time to time added, would have been too great : but as this cannot happen, the number 42 in all seems necessary to give dignity to their proceedings and weight to their decisions.

The first mode of election proposed in the scheme may be considered by some as objectionable ; but it will bear examination and be found preferable to the second, which is simple nomination by the Crown.

To give the election to the people, would be the same with that pursued by the United States, and be too democratic for our form of government, and by no means so advantageous to real liberty. On the proposed plan, the Counsellors would be the *elite* of all the Councillors of the inferior Legislative Councils : and as they would hold seats in the superior as well as the inferior Legislatures, there would

be a full community of feeling and interests between them and the population of the respective Colonies.

Perhaps it might be matter for consideration, whether each Legislative Council might not be allowed to present to their respective Governors in Council, a list of the names of those of their respective members whom they think most eligible for Councillors in the General Legislature: the list to contain double the number required, and from which the Governor in Council might select those whom they judged most capable.

With respect to the composition of the Legislative Councils of the Colonies, individually, from which those appointed to the superior Legislature are to be chosen, the greatest attention should be paid. The present mode of nomination has been objected to, and with great reason. Indeed nothing can be more preposterous than the nominations which some Governors have made and are still likely to make. 1st, Preference should be given according to the spirit of the Canadian constitution, to the eldest sons of Legislative Councillors, or one of the sons, if capable and of independent property, on the death of the father. 2d, Those persons of unexceptionable characters who have been Speakers of the House of Assembly, or who have for a series of years been conspicuous members of that House, ought to be named as occasions offer. 3rd, Sufficient room would still be left for the exertion of the Royal Prerogative in favor of persons at the head of trading interests, or otherwise deserving. 4th. All recommendations to be discussed in the Executive Council, and to receive its sanction before they are submitted to Her Majesty's Government for final decision. 5th, No

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Governor to recommend persons for Legislative Councillors, till he has administered the government of the Colony full two years. 6th, Before their appointment, a condition of regular attendance ought to be required. With these precautions and conditions, the most respectable men in the Province would be found among the Legislative Councillors.

As from seven Legislative bodies, the supreme Legislative Council would be chosen by the respective Governors in Council, there would be a moral certainty that it would consist of a most respectable selection of the principal men in the Union. In conclusion it is to be observed, that though in the General Legislature the Councillors continue six years only, yet they are chosen from the Councillors of the inferior Legislatures, who are Councillors for life. For here the elective principle ought never to be introduced ; but with the modifications mentioned above, every advantage would be gained. To notice all the benefits which would flow from this arrangement, would be to render this letter far too long. It may be sufficient to state that the superior Legislative Council would bring to the work of legislation much experience, and an intimate knowledge of the wants of the different colonies. Moreover, the Viceroy or Governor General would find himself surrounded by men in whom he might safely confide.

REPRESENTATIVES.

One Representative for every twenty-five thousand inhabitants might be sufficient, provided always that no colony has fewer than eight. A census to be taken every six years, upon which the next ensuing election should be predicated.

Perhaps it might be wise to provide that the Representatives should not for a time exceed a certain number—one hundred for example. This could be managed by increasing the number of inhabitants entitled to send a representative, as the population of the Union increased; viz.:—If it begin with one for 25,000 then one for 30,000, 35,000, 40,000, &c. &c.; or the number of Representatives might be increased. Supposing the population as in the following table, to which it will be found a near approximation, the first General Legislature will be at one representative for every 25,000, as follows:—

TABLE.

<i>Councillors.</i>	<i>Representatives.</i>
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6	28
6	10
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6	8
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6	8
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LETTER VI.

The policy of the United Kingdom in regard to the Canadas has indeed been marked with great kindness, but it has been void of wisdom and replete with error.

1st. The passing of the 14th Geo. III. cap. 83, in order to conciliate the French by restoring their laws and language, was an error of great magnitude. The consequence has been, that Lower Canada is as much a French Colony now as it was at the conquest, and the more active and influential portion of the population of that name, as little attached to Great Britain.

2d. The division of the Province of Quebec by the 31st Geo. III. cap. 31, and bestowing a constitution upon Upper and Lower Canada respectively, alleged to be an epitome of the British Constitution, was another measure of great political blindness.

It was doubtless well intended, but the result has been that the French in Lower Canada have made use of the power thus given them against the Parent State and the sister Colony. And after reprobating everything British, overturning the constitution and insulting the Imperial Government, they have had recourse to open rebellion. The leading men in Lower Canada have always hated the British, calling themselves children of the soil, and Englishmen foreigners and intruders.

Their manners, habits and modes of thinking render Frenchmen incapable of using to advantage the representative form of government. The House of Assembly in Quebec has ever been an epitome of the

Chamber of Deputies in Paris,—roaring, gesticulating, and adopting the wildest measures by acclamation. You saw nothing of calm discussion in their deliberations,—no diligent preparations to perfect a complicated measure: they seem unable to alter, amend and re-construct a complex statute, in a calm business-like manner. All appears noise and excitement. The true principles of liberty are unknown or forgotten in the impulse of the moment; and the discretion necessary to mature and guide any plan of policy to produce the wished-for results, seems altogether wanting.

3d. To leave the law of Lower Canada so long in its present state of confusion, is another error of the most pernicious tendency. The French law mixed with Roman law—ordinances before the conquest and after the conquest, and then the Provincial Acts and British Acts, &c. &c., form a mass so obscure and uncertain, that no property can be considered secure, and so anti-commercial are its general principles, so far as they can be gathered and understood, that it has proved a great barrier to the introduction of British capital and enterprise into the Colony. Foreign laws and a foreign language have likewise stood in the way of general emigration. Hence the French are still to the other inhabitants as three to one;—while in Upper Canada, where these obstacles do not operate, the whole population may be considered Anglican. The result in Lower Canada has been, that the House of Assembly is almost entirely French, and without great alterations in the constitution and policy of the Parent State, must always continue so.

4th. Add to these the foolish and inconsiderate concessions made to the most unreasonable demands

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of the House of Assembly, and we need not be surprised that instead of being satisfied, the members became more rapacious and discontented. Everything which the Lower Canadians asked through their Representatives in 1828, whether just or unjust, wise or imprudent, was freely granted. What was the consequence? The invention of fresh grievances, attacks on the constitution and all the departments under it—absurd demands which could not be conceded—and now Rebellion, because they were refused. Things actually wrong were, as they ought to be, promptly redressed: but the great error lay in the Imperial Government departing from just and constitutional principles, and in its anxiety to tranquillize and satisfy, giving way to selfish and unprincipled demagogues, and surrendering rights and powers which compromised the sovereignty and hazarded the loss of the Colony and the murder of two hundred thousand loyal subjects.

5th. Some cold-hearted political economists, whose grovelling minds comprehend nothing but shillings and pence, say, why not give up the Canadas?

This perhaps were wise so far as Lower Canada is concerned, if it could be given up alone, without detriment to the vital interests of the empire. The British inhabitants of Upper and Lower Canada are as numerous as the French, and will soon be much more so; and these cannot be given up; or if they are, a dreadful civil war must follow. Lower Canada, where the French prevail, holds the key of the ocean. Already has Upper Canada suffered bitterly from this locality, and is only restrained from extremities by the authority of the mother country. Left to themselves, the French Canadians would harrass

the commerce of Upper Canada, and force a collision. But in giving up the Canadas, we virtually give them to the United States, and eventually Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, &c.; for these Colonies cannot be long held without the Canadas. The Fisheries would also soon go, and without a port on the continent of North America, our West India possessions must likewise fall.

6th. But many respectable persons contend that a remedy for all these evils is to be found in the Legislative union of the two Canadas. The French and British population, say they, though at first nearly equal, would in a few years give the latter a great numerical majority by emigration. Then the commercial difficulties would be removed, and the two Provinces become a tranquil, loyal, and truly a British Colony.

Were such benefits to be the result of an union, it ought to take place immediately: but let us look a little farther:—1st. The French population in Lower Canada are to a man against it; and a great majority of the best informed in Upper Canada. 2nd. The French customs and laws prevail in Lower, the British laws in Upper Canada; and how shall the same body, nearly equally divided, legislate for both? 3d. The people of Upper Canada feel that in the United Legislature, the French would have a majority for many years—indeed for a time indefinite—since the present majority of the House of Assembly in Lower Canada would be joined by the usual minority of Upper Canada, not because this minority is attached to the French, but because it is Republican, and attached to the United States, and it calculates that by joining the French, it would sooner bring about a separation from Great Britain.

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LETTER VII.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFICULTY.

Conversing with a friend on the subject of the general union of the British North American Provinces, he mentioned an objection arising from their geographical position, which he considered insurmountable.

That their situation will present difficulty 'till after many improvements in affording mutual support and becoming amalgamated into one great nation or people, and that their various interests will require great prudence and temper to reconcile and mould them to the common advantage, is freely admitted. But the same difficulties will be found to exist with nearly equal force in the partial union of the two Canadas: and in either case will find their remedy in the recent discoveries of science and a skilful administration.

Happily Quebec stands near the centre of the British North American Provinces, and can maintain an easy and quick communication with their farthest extremities. Indeed it is farther from Sandwich and Goderich, the most western towns in Upper Canada, than from Halifax, St. Johns and St. Andrews. The contemplated Canals and Railroads will reduce distances, and by facilitating the communication with the Lower Provinces, bring them almost within call of one another. Though the effects of the application of steam may be considered as only beginning to

shew themselves, they are already bringing places into near neighborhood which were formerly inaccessible to each other; and they will doubtless in a short time produce the most astonishing revolutions in human affairs, and render much that was impracticable altogether easy of performance. With the facilities therefore which steam offers, Quebec becomes admirably adapted for the capital of the Union. It is the key of the Canadas, is easy of access, and can reach the Atlantic Colonies, during the navigation, by means of steam boats, in a very short time.

If it be said that Quebec is on one side, and has scarcely any settlement to the northward, it ought to be observed, that the fisheries would greatly increase in the Gulph and along the shores of Labradore:—that large agricultural settlements might be made with advantage on the great river Sagadah, and perhaps in many other places to the north east or north west of the capital—a country which has not yet been sufficiently explored to ascertain its capabilities, but which may present tracts for improvement of sufficient extent to render Quebec even in this respect central.

Were indeed the British Government to yield to the rapaciousness of the American pretensions on the side of New Brunswick, the consolidation of the Colonies under one government would be far more difficult, because the communication between what are called the Upper and Lower provinces would be well nigh cut off. But it cannot be that any administration of whatever party, will now be so blind to the dignity of the Crown and the honor of the nation, or so reckless of the feelings and interests of a large portion of their fellow subjects, as to give up a tract

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of country which is only a fragment of what is justly ours, but of which we have been deprived by ignorance and falsehood. In all our territorial negotiations with the United States, we have had on our side, profound ignorance of the country, great conceit in our diplomatic talents, an utter contempt for uncultivated lands, woods lakes and rivers, and a vain-glorious affectation of generosity in giving up what we chose to consider worthless. To these singular qualifications for negotiation, we have had opposed on the side of the Americans, local knowledge, and a deep conviction of the value and importance of the territory in question: to this were added shrewdness to perceive and make available the weakness and ignorance of our negociators, and an unscrupulous readiness to make any statement that would facilitate the attainment of their object, however inconsistent with truth and honour.

The correctness of these remarks fully appears in the history of our American negotiations. No compunction is felt by our adversaries in taking advantage of our local ignorance or depreciating the country in dispute, however important it may really be, in order to insure its attainment. Sometimes an affected indifference is assumed, and it is pretended that one line of boundary is little preferable to another; and fastening on the weakness, conceit and vanity of the British negociators, every thing is obtained on their own terms. A strip of land more or less, they will urge with consummate hypocrisy, is nothing to so great and generous a nation as that of England, but may be of some value to one of the States, and by rounding the territory, render peace more durable by removing every possible cause of future dispute.

In this way the British negociators were induced to relinquish the river Penobscot (the true St. Croix) as the boundary, and to adopt an insignificant stream also called St. Croix—an error which has produced so much difficulty and dissention; and if carried out to what the Americans now call its legitimate consequences, threatens to cut off all communication between Canada and New Brunswick—a result to which Great Britain never would have knowingly consented. The river Penobscot formed the true and proper boundary. It runs far into the country, and divides at its source the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence and Bay of Fundy, from those discharging themselves into the Atlantic. But the paltry St. Croix proceeds but a small distance inland and has its mouth rather within the Bay of Fundy. This fact has been taken advantage of by the United States to confound this Bay with the Atlantic; and this, notwithstanding the treaty of 1783, which evidently rests upon this distinction, and entirely destroys the American pretence to any portion whatever of the land which has been made the subject of controversy. Here then we see the reason why our opponents direct such strenuous and pertinacious efforts to confound the Bay of Fundy with the Atlantic; and their brazen perseverance has produced the usual results. Great Britain, instead of abiding by this important distinction, had the folly to submit the matter to the King of Holland, who awarded almost the whole territory in dispute to the Americans. Fortunately their insatiable avarice for land relieved us from this unjust decision. Still we are in the conceding humour, and now propose to yield half the disputed region, and if the Americans continue to bluster, and flatter and appeal to our mag-

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unanimity as a great nation, they may, from some insane administration, obtain the whole; and if so, we might as well give up an English county to which we have no better right; nor will it serve any other purpose than to give rise to fresh pretensions, and compel us to go to war after losing our honor and all that was worth contending for.

A like vain and senseless generosity induced our negociators to adopt a line passing through the middle of the St. Lawrence and great Lakes to one passing through Lakes Champlain and St. George, to which Mr. Adams the American Ambassador had authority to agree, because they thought the difference of little consequence, and thus yielded a country equal to half of Europe. Again: gross ignorance of the country induced them to consent to the extension of the boundary line through Lake Huron to Lake Superior, instead of making it pass through the middle of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and thus adding to their territory half a million of square miles of the most fertile land on the globe. The climax of the whole is still to come. Instead of continuing the line through the middle of Lake Superior and then West to the Mississippi, our wise negociators having heard something of the Lake of the Woods, took it for granted that it was a continuation of the chain of the great Canadian inland seas, and therefore agreed, at the suggestion of their shrewd antagonists, to make the line pass from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and to its north-western angle. Now it happens that to reach this Lake, you must pass from about the middle of Lake Superior directly north several hundred miles before you reach the Lake of the Woods, and this takes you so far

north and west, that a line drawn west from its north westernmost extremity cannot reach the Mississippi, which does not extend so far to the northwest, and excludes you from all the land on the east of the Rocky Mountains, capable of cultivation. Though gaining immense territory by the folly and stupidity of the British negociators, the Americans are still dissatisfied while there is a possibility of gaining any more. Instead therefore of acquiescing in the boundary pointed at by the treaty of 1783, which, had as it can well be, is clear and distinct to the westward, they now pass it over, and claim all the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, comprehending an extent of territory on the shores of the Pacific equal to their possessions on the Atlantic—a country which Great Britain discovered and took formal possession of while the United States were yet British Colonies. Should this new pretension be successful, they will, from their ports at the mouth of the Columbia and adjacent coast, command, at no distant period, the navigation of the Pacific Ocean, endanger our trade and communication with India, and engross the commerce with China. And in all these demands, however impudent and unjust, they have hitherto been successful, waiting patiently when the current is against them, for a feeble administration, and watching the moment of embarrassment, they rush forward with a mixture of threats and blandishments, and get possession of their prey. The negotiations and treaties between the British government and the United States, were their effects not so ruinous, would be considered the most ludicrous in the annals of history: they remind us of Jenkinson and farmer Hanborough in the Vicar of Wakefield. Jenkinson con-

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sidered the honest farmer a sort of income, and regularly cheated him once a year. And the United States lay it down as a principle as well as a good joke, to cheat John Bull in every negotiation.

LETTER VIII.

FORMER UNIONS.

An attempt to form an Union of the British North American Colonies, is by no means new: on the contrary, it was familiar to those which now form the United States, not as matter of speculation but of actual practice. The first project of this kind was made among the New England Colonies in 1643, to protect themselves against a formidable combination of the neighboring Indian nations, assisted as was apprehended by the Dutch, who were then in possession of New York. A sense of impending danger suggested the policy of this consideration, and articles of union were adopted in May 1643, by the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and Newhaven. These Provinces entered into a perpetual league of offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their mutual safety. Each Colony retained its full sovereignty in all matters except those which concerned the Union; and these were managed by two commissioners, annually chosen by each State. The number of Commissioners was eight; and three-fourths, or six, possessed the power of binding the whole. Such measures as were approved of by a smaller majority, were referred to the Legislature of each Colony, and only adopted if agreed to by all. If on any extraordinary meeting the whole

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number of commissioners could not assemble, four were empowered to determine on war, and call for the respective quotas of the several Colonies; but fewer than six could not determine the justice of the war, or settle the expenses, or levy money for its support. The charge of war was to be borne by the Colonies respectively in proportion to the male inhabitants of each between 16 and 60 years of age. Each colony raising their quota as they pleased. This Union was of the greatest benefit; for the prudent and vigorous measures which it pursued entirely disconcerted the plans of the Indians and preserved the general peace. The league was continued upwards of thirty years, when a dissolution of their charter and a new arrangement of their boundaries took place.

Nearly a century elapsed before any other project for a Union was suggested: but at the commencement of the troubles previous to the French War of 1755, the Earl of Holderness, then Secretary of State, wrote a circular to the Governors of the respective Colonies ordering them to repel by force the French encroachments on the Ohio, and recommending a Union among themselves for their mutual protection and defence. The plan was to form a grand Council to be chosen by the Provincial Assemblies, which Council, together with a President General to be appointed by the Crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also to raise money from all the Colonies for the common defence. Obstacles were thrown in the way of this plan, both in the Colonies and in England, and after much discussion it was finally abandoned. Another scheme was soon after proposed—viz. that the Governors of all the Colonies, attended by one or two members of their

respective Councils, should from time to time meet and concert measures for the common defence of the Colonies, erect Forts and raise Troops, with power to draw upon the British Treasury in the first instance—the sums so drawn to be reimbursed by a tax to be laid on the Colonies by act of Parliament. This scheme was not approved of in America, and fell to the ground.

There were no further attempts at a Union of the Colonies till after the conquest of Canada, when, relieved from a formidable enemy by whom they were almost surrounded and held in cheque, they began to unite in conspiracies against the mother country. This result had been already foreseen by men of penetration, who stated long before the peace of 1763, that the true policy of Great Britain was, not to expel the French from North America, but to establish a clear and distinct boundary between the Canadas and the thirteen Colonies. It has indeed been long fashionable to praise the American Revolution, and the little bloodshed with which it was attended. But I believe that ample proofs are still in existence to shew that for hypocrisy, falsehood, violence, and cruelty, it comes behind no other rebellion. To this revolt may be fairly attributed the French Revolution with all its horrors, and dreadful consequences, by which the civilized world has been ever since convulsed. It is not to be inferred that in finding fault with the Colonies, for their revolt, the conduct of the Parent State towards them is deemed worthy of approbation. It was doubtless in many respects blameable and shortsighted; but it presented no sufficient cause for insurrection; and was far more conspicuous for its weakness and want of vigour, than for its injustice or cruelty.

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In 1765 some steps were taken towards an Union on account of the passage of the Stamp Act; and Commissioners were appointed from nine States who met in October of that year, and adopted a declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists and a petition to the King and each House of Parliament. It was likewise ordered that the several Colonies should appoint special Agents who should unite for a redress of grievances. All this being done, they adjourned. On the passage of the Boston Port Bill in 1774, Delegates from all the Colonies except Georgia, assembled in Philadelphia to consult and advise on the means most proper to secure the liberties of the Colonies, and to restore the harmony formerly subsisting between them and the Mother Country.— It was farther agreed that their proceedings, except such as they might determine to publish, should be kept inviolably secret. The most important business was the adoption of a Declaration of Rights—a Petition to the King—and address to the people of Great Britain, and an address to the other Colonies, inviting them to unite with their brethren in the common cause. A new Congress assembled in 1775, at which it was resolved to raise an Army and contributions in money, and in 1776 the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and Articles of Confederation were entered into, though not finally agreed upon, until the 9th of July, 1778. This Confederation or Union, as imbecile and inefficient as it proved to be, was far exceeded in these respects by the British Government, and was therefore enabled with all its weakness, to bring the Revolutionary War to a successful issue.— When left however to itself without the help of external pressure it was found totally powerless against the

State Governments ; and therefore, to prevent anarchy and civil war, the present Constitution of the United States was agreed upon and brought into full operation on the 4th March 1789. The differences between any of these Unions and the one here proposed are many and important. Among others, it may suffice to mention that of being represented in the House of Commons, as it insures ready and correct information respecting every one of the Colonies : and it is from the want of this knowledge that most of the errors committed by the British Government in regard to their dependencies originate. If the farther advantages of a Colonial Board were added, composed principally of persons who had resided in the different Colonies, with freedom for all their Representatives to sit and vote at the Board, and that all measures respecting the Colonies should be first discussed and prepared at this Board, or at all events reported upon, before they were introduced into the House of Commons, a system would gradually rise up and become consolidated of a steady and permanent nature, which could not fail of producing general satisfaction and tranquillity, and the utmost protection to person and property. Such a Board would not be turned from its fixed and established principles of proceeding by the Secretary of State, whose business it would be to preside at its deliberations : for as that officer would be frequently changed, he would in general be happy to shelter himself under the wing of such an Institution : and were he disposed to alter the system, it could only be effected where error could be evidently proved.

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because in new countries like the British North American Colonies, their resources and peculiar capabilities cannot be fully developed without leaving certain powers with the authorities more immediately on the spot. Living in the confines of civilization the inhabitants of the more remote parts of Upper Canada for instance, might feel little sympathy for the Colony were it only known through the General Government. But when they have a Local Legislature to which they can apply for Roads and Bridges and Township improvements, they will feel quite content to leave matters of a more general character to the superior Legislature. It is therefore a happy feature of the Constitution that every Colony has its independent Government, a respect to its internal policy and regulation and to watch over and become the depositary of its local interests. The multiplied details of so many improvements could never be clearly understood or overtaken by the General Government. But Township and County Meetings, District Assemblages and then the Provincial Legislature increase the rallying points, without which the principle of rational liberty might be too much weakened.

Had we no local administration to which immediate recourse can be had in all the minuter difficulties, incident to the progressive settlement of the wilderness, we should feel ourselves too remote from the scene of action to experience its immediate influence, and not be sufficiently affected by the political proceedings of the General Government, to consider them paramount to the sectional interests of our own vicinity.

Political life grows fainter in proportion to its remoteness from the seat of legislation; and the energies

of the people instead of being roused by the necessity of action, degenerates into passive acknowledgment of the protection of the ruling power. This is more or less the case in every country except Great Britain, and the United States; and the principal reason of their little progress in the acquisition of true freedom.

The General Union would by degrees generate a national character. Every township has its meetings and proceedings, so as to give it as much liberty as is consistent with good order. The counties and districts are aggregates of townships or parishes. The Province comprehends the whole, and the General Government represents all the Provinces. The whole rises in a regular and beautiful gradation and opens the way to every inhabitant to attain political eminence. If a man desires distinction he begins at home: he makes himself acceptable to his immediate neighbourhood—then to his country—then he aspires to a seat in the Provincial Legislature, and through it, to that of the General Union. He begins humbly in his native place—acquires influence around him—attains the dignity of Representative, and if found worthy he is in time promoted to the dignity of a Member of the General Government. He is thus prepared, by a long course of political education, to take a share in the public affairs of the Country.

It was in this way that the present United States became fit for self-government. So far was the Mother Country from keeping them in restraint, that with the exception of a trifling tax, which she desired to impose for their defence, she left them in the enjoyment of a liberty which might be termed almost licentious. So much was this the case, that the State of Connecti-

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cut continued to be governed under its Royal Charter, long after the acknowledgment of Independence ; nor did it sink from its high moral altitude, or fail to maintain an influence notwithstanding its smallness, equal to that of the greatest State, till a democratic change in its Constitution, reduced it to insignificance.

Colonies should be considered integral portions of the States to which they belong. Thus the Canadas and Sister Provinces of North America, should be deemed the same as a County in England, and have their Representatives in Parliament. In such case, possessing the same Laws and Institutions and enjoying a full community of rights and privileges, they would fully participate in all the feelings and glories of British subjects, and a reverence for a moderate monarchy would be so far from being weakened among them, that it would daily become stronger by the opportunity of contrasting their happy enjoyment of life and property with the growing Anarchy of the Republic.

And are such Colonies to be treated slightly or discarded? This would be as wise as to discard Ireland, Scotland or Wales; since it has already been proved that the British American Provinces are as necessary to the wealth, security, and grandeur of the Empire, as so many English Counties. And should the period arrive to render it expedient for Colonies of such magnitude to prefer an intimate alliance to the continuance of a united Independence, it might be easily brought about to their mutual benefit.—For by the time that such a change was beneficial, a wise policy will have produced such an identity of interests—so many kind pledges—such intimate con-

nections between the inhabitants—such a community of Laws and Institutions, and language, that the proposed alteration would be attended with no hostile feelings. There would be a quiet separation of the powers of Government, followed by an intimate alliance. Ministers might lose something of patronage, but the nation would be no loser. A long nursing time is however required, to bring about results so happy. In such case Great Britain would be the natural ally, and the United States the rival of the new Empire. For to them such a power as these Colonies would form, must become a powerful check—possessing on the one hand the most effectual means of annoying their Commerce and far greater sources for a formidable Navy; and on the other hand an increasing land force in the interior for War, either defensive or offensive. The Canadian Provinces enfilade the North Western Boundary of the United States as completely as the Maritime Colonies their Sea Board in the Atlantic.

And are Colonies so valuable, a burthen to be cast off or lightly valued, or to be insulted with the pounds shillings and pence, that may at times attend their protection and defence?

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LETTER IX.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

Don Quixote says Sir Francis Palgrave with the curate and barber fell into a discussion about State affairs and modes of Government, correcting this, condemning that, and dealing with the commonwealth as though they had put it on the anvil, and hammered it into a new shape or form. Now what this wise triumvirate was doing figuratively, our modern constitution makers, menders, and marrers, are performing on a large scale and distracting the world.

A Constitution, according to Sir James McIntosh grows; it is not conceived in the brain of an enthusiast, reduced to paper and instantly put into operation. Men are not clay, to be moulded as you please in a moment. Changes, to be useful, must take time in their completion: the public mind requires a long train of preparation—a preparation which must proceed slowly and almost by imperceptible degrees; and as it becomes better informed, the Government becomes more wise and enlightened. It is in this way the British Constitution has advanced to its present degree of excellence. It has been the work of ages and has been produced as it were step by step. As different portions or organs were required, they seemed to come insensibly as it were into action, till the whole assumed its complete form at the Revolution of 1688.

In their worst convulsions, the people of England

respected some leading rights and principles. Thus it was in Magna Charta, the bill of rights and act of settlement, &c. The true history therefore of the British Constitution is to be sought for in the Annals of the Government which give evidence of its gradual developement. The seeds were indeed sown early, but they required many ages to ripen into the fruits that they now bear: for these are comparatively of a recent date and are not the result of abstract speculations but of the growing wants and desires of a progressive state of society. These movements towards liberty in the completion of the Constitution were nurtured and directed by religion which exerted in all periods of English history, a prevailing influence among all ranks of society. In regard to the constituent parts of the British Government, consisting of King, Lords and Commons, it may be remarked that they were long in acquiring the relative positions which they now occupy. From the Reformation to the Revolution in 1688, the power of the House of Commons gradually increased, and then became in some measure stationary: but from recent changes and some that are threatened, there is great danger lest it acquire a preponderating influence and so destroy the balance of the Constitution. The great excellence of this Constitution stands recorded in the history of Europe, and without indulging in the common superlatives that it has made Great Britain the first country in the world, it may be considered second to none in liberty, in moral and intellectual elevation and in all that dignifies and adorns mankind. A country possessing so many advantages beyond those of most others, and which has without interruption enjoyed a uniform system of Government, may rest

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assured that its Constitution is too precious to be lightly tampered with, and ought not to be allowed even in the most trifling particular, without the most deliberate and anxious consideration, and a deep conviction that it will be beneficial. Under a King, Lords and Commons it has prospered infinitely beyond any neighbouring country for the last hundred and fifty years; and it is but fair to believe that if its spirit be retained in full vigour, it will continue to flourish to a far distant period. And such expectation is by no means unreasonable, when it is considered that the British Constitution possesses within itself the principles of renovation and expansion, and may, as it has already been, be moulded and modified into a state of adaptation to the then condition of the people.

By its working it has been proved beyond all rational dispute, that different ranks under proper regulation, are highly beneficial to society; for the mixture of respect, influence and authority, give health and expansion to the public mind. Such distinctions of rank are only hurtful when there is not a proper circulation through all the orders of society, by which the spirit of one may be transfused through the rest. In this way the higher orders may be considered the lungs of the political body, breathing a refined and celestial principle, and communicating it to the whole frame of Society and Government.—That among the upper ranks there are many unworthy exceptions, we freely admit: but we speak of the tendency of different ranks in general; and in Great Britain it has been of the greatest value to the well being of the nation. The vulgar declaimer therefore who talks against rank and title, may as well de-

claim against the surface of the earth because it is not a flat level.

In respect to the gradation and intercourse of its different orders, the British Constitution is certainly the best that the world has ever seen. There is no man so obscure, that he may not see men of the highest rank among his posterity, and there is none so high that he may not see his descendents mingling by degrees with all ranks of the community. Among other nations, the exclusive character of the nobility prevented that circulation of rights and feelings which are favourable to the community only when circulated through the whole. In consequence, the nobles became proud—a distinct and privileged race, totally separated from the lower classes, who therefore became in time mean, discontented or enslaved. In Great Britain, on the contrary, no one is noble except the heir to the title: the rest of the family soon mix among the commonality, and are forced to betake themselves to professions and employments to gain a respectable subsistence, as well as those who belong not to such houses.

It is farther to be remarked that in the British Constitution the different orders are not to be considered as mere checks regulating the reciprocal motions of one another, but as distinct organs of the political body—each actuated by a different spirit and principle, and communicating to it a peculiar impulse.

The monarch loves glory, courts the affections of his people, and forms extensive designs for their peace and happiness. The nobles love dignity, are superior to sordid interests, and infuse into the measures of Government, those sentiments of honour and elevation of mind which their superior rank naturally

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inspires. The Commons united with the body of the people, have for their object what is most beneficial and interesting, the complete security of person and property, and the encouragement of all those efforts on which their virtue and comfort depend.— These principles are not merely calculated to check, but to give a varied and salutary animation to each other, and a proper direction to their mutual tendencies, and when indulged in a proper spirit the virtues of each order melt in harmonious union and increase the felicity of the body politic. The Baron looks forward to his family in distant futurity: the Commoner thinks of his infant on his mother's bosom becoming a nobleman and member of the supreme Government—for in England, all places, ranks and situations are open to the whole population. The lofty mind counteracts the timidity of a narrow prudence, and the interests of the poor, restrain the ambition of the great.

It has indeed been fashionable of late years to treat the distinctions of society with contempt: but it is more easy to sneer than to argue. Distinction is a natural propensity of the human constitution, and were the principles of those who contend against it carried out to their legitimate length, there would neither be enterprise nor industry, and mankind, instead of advancing in civilization and the arts and comforts of life, would sink rapidly into the savage state, where, exposed to superior strength and violence they would be still farther than ever from their beloved equality. In distinctions and rank we gladly recognize the noblest part of our species, and the dangers against them are found in general eagerly spread to grasp at what is not within their reach.

The honours of England are desirable distinctions won by noble qualities—badges of superior skill and experience, of courage, wisdom, and eloquence, of important services and glorious exploits: and were they faithfully employed, it is difficult to conceive any thing which may be more properly adapted to bring forward merit, and give life and energy to the nobler qualities of man.

By the British Constitution the Government is able if it be so disposed to accomplish every salutary act of power—to defend, control, or attack, to raise or to degrade when necessary. Its deliberative part has the power of subjecting all to its examination, so that it may give full influence to the principles of real liberty. The executive and deliberative powers are no further separated than is requisite for the attainment of their respective objects.

In great and sudden emergencies, the executive wants no new authority, but acts promptly and vigorously, trusting to the good sense and wisdom of the deliberative assemblies to sanction such additional authority as may have been exerted. But where the executive ought to wait, it must wait, or incur a responsibility which it may be unable to meet. The persons who have the privilege of deliberating, whether by inheritance or election, are the best qualified to discern the public interests, and are the most worthy to guard them. And those who act are such as have the full confidence of those who deliberate.—Errors no doubt occur, but they cannot continue long, because the deliberations of the Parliament are open, and the public opinion has other powerful channels of free circulation.

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is perfect, but that it contains, beyond all other forms of government, the powers of renovation, and of adapting itself to new situations and forms of society. Its principles have taken deep root in the hearts, manners and habits of the people; and even from temporary convulsion verging on revolution, it gradually recovers its form and substance. Thus from the late regeneration of the House of Commons, which by many was supposed its death-blow, and the prelude of anarchy or civil war, it is fast recovering, and settling itself down upon those principles of internal peace, security and order by which it has been distinguished since 1688. But here we must stop; for the alterations with which it is now menaced by the factious and turbulent, would utterly destroy its vitality: for as we have already said, it is not a paper constitution emanating from the brain of some vain philosopher, but a wise system of government gradually consolidated, and every part proving its excellence before its incorporation. Your present Reformers seek their unhallowed purposes by revolution. They begin with hacking and hewing the body politic into pieces, and then expect the magic of a republican will call up a perfect form of government.—For the last sixty years such movements have been distracting the world, but their abettors, instead of learning wisdom from experience, have become more desperate and reckless.

It is not, however, to be concealed, that great and imminent dangers are at this very moment assailing the British Constitution; and although they are not of a character to frighten a statesman of extensive views, energy and talents, acting rigidly on christian

principles, yet a deviation from such principles will produce the most afflicting consequences.

The nearest danger is lest the governing power should continue to remain satisfied with measures of mere expediency, or persist in modelling the great institutions of the country on the miserable and selfish suggestions of political æconomists, instead of religious principles. This policy, by substituting heartless selfishness for the kindly affections, is separating the poor from the rich and ripening the seeds of revolution with fearful acceleration. The population of the country has been increasing in a most wonderful manner during the last fifty years; but no adequate provision has been made to meet its wants either physical or moral. Hence the dreadful degradation of the population of large towns and their appalling destitution, which makes them ready for every iniquity. Add to this, the discoveries of science, by which the labour of one man is rendered equal to that of hundreds, and so diminishes the call for labour. The whole country is threatened to become covered with machinery instead of human beings, leaving one solitary individual here and there to direct its movements.

These causes again increase inequality, which, however beneficial to a certain extent, has its limits, beyond which it becomes a most alarming evil.

The physical and moral condition of the population must be greatly improved. To do this, the whole power of government, assisted as they will be by every man of property and religion, must be directed. Lands at home capable of cultivation must be distributed, an efficient plan of emigration adopted, and no cost must be spared. The United Provinces

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of North America would open an inexhaustible field, both on land and water, agriculture and fisheries, to ease the mother country of her burthen. No consideration must deter the government from the adoption of such measures as shall make the humblest occupations of honest labour procure all the necessities of life. The poor must be made comfortable, and then they will be content with their station.— They must be so trained as to make them wise unto salvation. They must drink from the living spring of Religion—not from the broken cistern of political æconomy. Unless measures such as these be speedily adopted, no other policy can save the British empire from greater calamities than have ever yet been poured out from the vials of wrath. And such measures being in manifest accordance with the course of a benevolent Providence, their promoters may rely in full faith upon that Providence for blessing.

LETTER X.

PROSPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Great Britain may be considered in a great degree amenable for the two most prominent evils which affect the United States. She left them without an established form of Christianity, and entailed upon them the curse of slavery. For these breaches of the divine law, both nations are now reaping their reward in the convulsive movements by which they are agitated.

To look for true amelioration, in the present state of society, from any other cause than the prevalence of christian principles, evinces the blindness of that infidelity which has so fearfully extended its influence in Europe and America. Man, from the very plan and constitution of his nature, is a religious being; and however far nations or individuals may be permitted to stray from the Gospel, to that Gospel they must return, before those blessings can be enjoyed, which, by a kind Providence, are placed within their reach. To raise man to his true dignity and station, religion must be blended with the whole course of his instruction, whether private and domestic or social and public. Its doctrines and precepts must drop as the rain into the breasts of the young, and distil as the dew. Thus impregnated, their hearts and minds will grow in knowledge and moral beauty as they grow in stature, and they will become the pillars of social order, and the conservators of its tranquillity

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and enjoyment. Were the rising generation so instructed, Religion would gradually enter into all our manners, customs and habits, and superintend the whole business of life. It would guard our health, our possessions and our reputation; preside over our prudence and uprightness in our dealings; direct our familiar intercourse, our public conduct and recreations, and make them all subservient to its influence and spirit. But this source of all good is despised or valued lightly by modern reformers and philosophers, and they look to far different principles for the improvement of our species—but they will look in vain.

In this matter the celebrated De Tocqueville, who writes so well on Democracy in America, seems to have had some glimpses of the truth; but the darkness of a false philosophy carries him away, and he satisfies himself with admitting religion as one among many elements, and prides himself in the fanciful theory, that there is an irresistible tendency among mankind to democracy and equality of condition;—that it is in continual operation, and that it is the most uniform, the most ancient and the most permanent to be found in history. To the triumphs of this universal tendency, he attributes every step of civilization since the dark ages, and declares that all the great events since that period have turned to the advantage of equality of condition; that such equality is daily advancing towards those extreme limits which it seems to have reached in the United States; and that the democracy which governs the American communities, appears to be rising rapidly into power in Europe. According to this writer, the struggle is between Democracy and Aristocracy; the desire of

equality and the retention of power,—each fighting for the mastery. But according to De Tocqueville's hypothesis, democracy will finally prevail. The foundation of this theory is on earth, and has no divine spirit of renovation or refinement; and if true, can only lead to the most disastrous results. With much ability, though with many contradictions, he is nevertheless forced to admit that Religion is the companion of Liberty in all its battles and in all its triumphs; the cradle of its infancy and the hallowed source of its claims. Had he not been smitten by a false theory, he would have seen that religion, instead of being the companion, is the mother of true Liberty, and the only fountain from which it can spring. At times, a momentary light seems to penetrate his mind, when he calls religion the safeguard of morality, and the best security of the law, and the surest pledge of freedom. Here he is indeed on the threshold of the truth. But the Gospel, or Christianity, is not merely the safeguard, but the foundation or source of morality and freedom. He soon, however, falls away, and settles down in considering Religion as a mere element of many involved in his equation, and nothing more.

We too admit of antagonist principles, but derived from a very different origin. For every thinking man not only perceives, but feels, that two great principles are continually contending for the mastery; and as they separately prevail, produce different and opposite effects: the principle of evil, embracing ignorance, vice and discord, struggling for paramount dominion; the principle of good, or Religion, enforcing justice, purity and truth, sternly arresting the progress of the former, and gradually establishing

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the kingdom of heaven upon earth. Both these principles aim at absolute dominion and equality among their subjects ; but with the principle of evil it is an equality of misery—with the principle of good, of felicity. The great struggle among men is between good and evil : all other contentions are only the jarring of elements subordinate to one or other of these principles ; and it is the temporary prevalence of evil which at present is agitating the civilized world,—a principle which seems in America to proceed with little or no check, but which in England is now meeting with so formidable a resistance as to give good hope that it must finally succumb.

True Religion undoubtedly tends to produce a perfect equality in all the rights and privileges that are compatible with the happiness of society, but not an equality of ability, state or condition ; since variety of rank appears as necessary for an extensive cultivation of virtue and enjoyment of felicity, as a variety of tastes and dispositions. The doctrine of primitive equality in the sense of Wat Tyler and modern Radicals, never did and never can exist ; for the distinctions of society, when contemplated in their true light, are essential portions of the dispensations of Providence.

Upon these antagonist principles two schools of politics are founded,—the one resting on cold-blooded selfishness, despising and discarding religion ; the other resting on that family affection and social love by which all feel themselves the children of the same heavenly father, and the disciples of the same Lord. The one furnishes the politics of modern philosophers and reformers,—the latter those of the kingdom of Heaven upon earth. The French Revolution was

the first result of this wicked or infidel principle : the United States are destined to furnish the second.— Their constitution is a huge cold-blooded sea monster, raising its back out of the Atlantic Ocean, and but very partially breaihing the air of heaven. It has no reference to God or his moral government, and is therefore an atheistical institution, and cannot be of long continuance. It is indeed matter of wonder that it should have been permitted to exist so long ; but there are nevertheless several causes which may procrastinate, but not prevent, in due time, its utter destruction.

The general aspect of the political institutions of the United States is the reverse of their natural scenery. Instead of mighty rivers descending from lofty mountains through fruitful vallies, and venerable forests, their various provinces present an immense plain, varied only by a few paltry and tottering eminences, intersected by muddy streams and putrid canals. With many objects to inflame, it presents nothing to give expansion to the mind or elevation to the heart. There is no union of the affections—every one for himself or his political party—all earth and no heaven.

The causes which tend to preserve the Union may be reduced to four.

1st. A sense of Religion.

Before the Revolution, the Colonies which now form the United States possessed as great a degree of equality as seemed compatible with peace and order. This was more especially the case in the New England Provinces, because the liberties and education of the people were engendered by the moral and re-

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ligious principles of their founders. Hence a love of order, regular habits and many virtues. In these, and in some of the more southern Colonies, there was likewise for a time some provision for the support of religion. It was incorporated in their institutions, and was the basis of their laws. Even the promoters of the revolution shewed great respect for Religions and it ceased only with General Washington.

Even now, though the nation in its public capacity may be pronounced infidel, yet religious feelings prevail among the people to a very considerable extent, and may be the salt which saves the nation from immediate destruction. To the general observer, christianity seems little less than proscribed by the different states, and appears never to have been considered as a necessary element of government by the framers of any of their constitutions, however much it may be venerated by small portions of the community.—The pernicious effects of this course are widely spread: the current of society is daily becoming more opposed to man's best interests in all his social relations, and blighting the fairest hopes of the future. But a wise Providence is long suffering, and although there be no public recognition of Christianity in the general or state governments, as being in any way necessary to rational liberty, prosperity or happiness, there are nevertheless thousands of devout Christians praying day and night for the safety of their country. At the same time, such is the corruption of the human heart, that the appearance of religion among public men tells to their disadvantage, and is consequently fast diminishing, while in many States the profession of christianity forfeits all claim to public favour. As a natural result, the torrent of vice and irreligion is

spreading wider and wider ; the foundation of public virtue is sapped and destroyed ; the distinctions of right and wrong confounded ; and the world turned into God.

It were easy to demonstrate that the noblest virtue and surest intelligence spring from Christian doctrines, and that they are the true foundation of liberty : but the constitutions of the States say nothing of religion, except that none shall ever be established by law. A man may therefore act on election day as if there were no God—no accountability to law, either human or divine, and carrying out the principle that no oaths should be administered in courts of justice, and no man punished for perjury. But notwithstanding all this, God has hitherto preserved the United States from destruction, because of the christians still resident among them.

2d. Immense Territory.

This serves as a safety valve for troubled spirits. The discontented, the rebellious, the wild and the spendthrift can fly to the far west. It is where population concentrates and to the other vices engendered by too great numbers adds the misery of hunger, that terrible convulsions arise. But where there is a boundless continent open to their exertions, the people are too widely scattered and too easy in their circumstances to engage in civil war or in rashly opposing their governments. The vast quantity of uncultivated land in the United States, is therefore a great element of their preservation, although it may be found weak when placed in opposition to causes acting in a contrary direction.

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This fortuitous advantage is a great source of preservation to the United States. Were one of the provinces to rebel in the hope of foreign assistance, the union would instantly be dissolved : for it has little or no force to meet such an emergency : but the rebellious State, without extrinsic aid, would be obliged to succumb to the general government, weak as it is. As the Americans have no neighbors they have had no serious wars—no necessity for large armies to defend them against inroads from enemies and attempts to subdue them. “Placed in the centre of an immense continent, which offers a boundless field for human industry, the union is almost as much insulated from the world as if its frontiers were girt by the ocean.”

4. There are several minor causes all concentrating in the preservation of the Union.

Having no capital city whose influence is strongly felt over the whole extent of the country, as in France, is a great advantage : for a metropolis leading the Provinces, becomes a great source of evil. In a large city, men cannot be prevented from planning together, and from awaking mutual excitement, which may prompt to sudden and passionate resolutions.—The general improvement of the country, by good roads, bridges, canals and railways, joins and increases the interests of the individual States, and promotes their private as well as the public advantage. Add to this, the respect and influence which the Union gains them among foreign nations : and to all this, append the belief which every American entertains, that the United States constitute the most powerful, enlightened, valiant, free and happy people

now in existence, or which ever has been or will be in existence in the world.

Notwithstanding the conservative power of these several causes, the progress of the United States has been sadly downward, and more crimes of a public nature and of a deeper die have been committed by this people which is of yesterday, than would have satisfied the most corrupt Government during ten times the period of their existence.

1st. Their treatment of the Indians or ancient possessors of the country which they inhabit, has no parallel in the history of the world. The nations of antiquity, to secure their conquests killed, and sometimes carried into captivity, the principal inhabitants of a conquered kingdom, to another country: but in general with as much comfort as the customs and habits of the times allowed, giving them fields and vineyards in a distant Province equal—perhaps superior to their own. In the way of justification, there was the provocation of war: battles had been fought—towns besieged—the wicked passions excited, and the conviction that the vanquished, if successful would have acted in the same manner. In the case of the poor Indians, there were no similar causes of irritation or palliation. They were living in peace and tranquillity on a small portion of the territory which had been once wholly theirs. They had exchanged their former habits for those of civilized life; and instead of hunters had become farmers cultivating the small possessions which still remained to them, and which were guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. But the spectacle of happy industry which the Cherokees exhibited, the beauty of their plantations—the picturesque scenery of their woods and rivers, was too

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much for their heartless neighbours. Cupidity saw their happiness, and desiring their possessions, trampled on justice, and drove them from their cultivated farms—their comfortable homes—the graves of their fathers—into the desolate wilderness, by a military force. Many perished by the way, and the wretched remnant, destitute of every convenience, now unacquainted with savage life, and opposed by hostile tribes, cannot long survive. The treatment of the Poles by the Russians, which has excited so great indignation throughout Europe is nothing to what the miserable Indians have experienced at the hands of the American Government. But they are far distant and unknown. They have no one to tell their wrongs, or to stand up in their defence. But the history of the world is a lie: the book of Revelation a fable, if guilt so rank and deadly pass unpunished. The time and manner of vengeance are in the deep things of God: but that vengeance will not be long delayed, his moral government sufficiently demonstrates.

2nd. The case of the Negroes is grievous and perplexing; but admits of some palliation, as it is a legacy from Great Britain to the United States, while they were yet Colonies. That they have greatly aggravated this evil, by cruel and vindictive laws, cannot be disputed: and since the prohibition of the slave trade from Africa, they have descended to a degree of iniquity utterly unknown to any other nation, and which would appear to every generous mind altogether incredible, were not the facts by which it is proved clearly substantiated. This iniquity is called the trade of breeding slaves for sale. It is chiefly followed in Virginia, and carried on to an immense extent. Establishments of female slaves are in that State common,

for the purpose of raising a new race of negroes, as other nations do cattle. The thing is so horribly disgusting, that the bare mention of it is enough to hold up a people to universal execration which admits such iniquity to continue among them for a single day.

England has repented of the share which she had taken in the slave trade, and has not been ashamed to make all the compensation that seemed in her power. If her measures in this matter, have neither been wise nor safe, they proceeded from good intentions. The United States have done nothing to remedy the evil of slavery; and though its continuance threatens the most terrible disasters, they seem doggedly to persevere. It ought not however to be concealed that it is far more difficult for them, than it was for England to remedy this poisonous ulcer, because it exists in their heart. But it is an evil which must and ought to be grappled with, and if pursued on sound principles, a remedy may be found. Were a law enacted, declaring every negro under six years of age, and all born after the day of its passing, to become free at the age of twenty five, no convulsion need be apprehended. The black population would become free so gradually, and might be so trained to habits of industry, as to give rise to no serious difficulty. Such a measure however, cannot be expected till the hearts of masters and slaves are humanized and softened by the diffusion of christian truths.—Should the law pronounce the negroes absolutely free at once, it would be followed by the worst consequences. British legislation in this matter should not be imitated by the Americans. They should adopt a long train of preparation such as the measure I propose will easily allow: and the black population

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should be considered, as far as possible, subjects of the community, as well as the master to whom they more immediately belong, till they become free at the age of twenty five. This simple enactment would in less than fifty years, extinguish slavery almost without notice: for its operation would so mingle itself with the current of society, as scarcely to attract attention. Had the British Parliament connected the measure of emancipation with such restraints as the welfare of the negro and the safety of the public required, the result would have been very different from what is now occurring. The power necessary to compel the negro to work for his support, should have been placed in prudent hands, and to supply that discretion which he has not yet attained. The privileges which the negroes enjoyed while yet slaves, in house and garden, clothing, victuals, &c., ought to have been carefully valued, and been made their first allowance of wages to be increased, according to their ability, skill and industry; and no combinations against working ought to have been permitted. Here the political æconomists, who are as ignorant of human nature as bats, will exclaim, this is rank oppression. But we tell them that monopolies, fixed prices for commodities and labour, even for bread, are not only absolutely necessary but beneficial in certain stages of Society; and nothing displays greater ignorance of our nature than to suppose that the same legislation is equally prudent and useful when applied to man in different stages of improvement. The negroes when emancipated, require a long training, similar to that which the nations of Europe have been undergoing during the last two centuries. Not that it would require so long a period—perhaps one fourth

of that time would be more than sufficient: but an Act of Parliament cannot change the nature of things and make of an indolent negro who has no conception of liberty but the mere absence of labour, an industrious and skilful planter or artizan. They are semi-barbarous, perhaps lower, and must be treated as such. If you can get them to labour by rational and interested motives, it is well; if not, they must be forced to work on the same principles that vagrants in other communities are confined and compelled to earn their bread.

3rd. Inefficacy of the Laws.

Peace and security in the enjoyment of life and property, are the objects of all good government.—But without good morals, these cannot be obtained: for unless there be a virtuous spirit among the people, the best and wisest institutions have no life, and are therefore of no use. Now it is quite evident that the two factions which are at present distracting the United States, have no regard for justice in their treatment of one another—that they cherish the fiercest mutual animosity, and render the laws altogether impotent. These factions have indeed become so inveterate, that without some change their fury will only terminate in the dissolution of the Government, in which both will be crushed.

Even in matters which do not concern political differences, there appears among the people of the United States, a disregard for law and justice quite appalling—a return to the savage state of taking the law into their own hands—such a corruption of mind as to induce juries to disregard their oaths and the evidence, and incline to the popular clamour however cruel and wicked its demands. There is a growing

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degeneracy in society which the moral influence of religion still found in a portion of the people of the United States, is altogether unable to restrain, or counteract. The burning of convents—the frequent recourse to Lynch Law—the savage massacre of the harmless Mormons &c. however to be deplored, are still more to be dreaded from the evil spirit which they indicate, and the astounding fact that neither from Judge nor Jury can any redress be obtained.—Nay the very worst of these crimes are regarded as praiseworthy acts; and thus the most sacred rights are trampled in the dust.

4th. Nor is it only among themselves that this prostration of moral feeling is manifested. It extends its outrages to their neighbours. In the Texas it has been successful, and though baffled in Canada, the murderous inroads which it promotes and which are justified in the public prints and but slightly censured by those who still affect some decency of moral conduct, if carried much farther, will make the States a public nuisance, which it will become the duty of civilized nations to destroy.

5th. The most prominent cause of this moral degradation, is universal suffrage. This apple of discord and misery is enjoyed by the whole population, and places them above the law. The masses are blind in every country, and no less so in the United States than elsewhere. They are a prey to every breeze of passion and every sudden impulse which the arts of the vicious may employ to flatter their prejudices and betray their interests. They are continually beset by the wiles of parasites and the snares of the ambitious the avaricious and desperate. The consequence is, that neither ability in the management of public af-

fares nor moral worth, are recommendations to their favour: they must be fawned upon and employ such only as are subservient to their inclinations. The people of the United States are ever on the move, electing or preparing to elect, always seeking how to govern themselves and never finding the way: always in a state of excitement, they are unfit for deliberation; and the turmoil of politics gives them no time or relish for domestic peace and family endearments. Their social happiness consists in violent public meetings—quarrels on political questions, and in plots to level their opponents. There can be no such thing as social and domestic quiet and fireside charities among such a people, till elections are far less frequent, and those entitled to vote, fewer in number.

What makes up his loss of time to the poor man for attending meetings—canvassing the merits of candidates—watching the ballot box, &c? Does he find his reward in the corruption of secret voting, so hostile to generous independence and manly feeling, in the consciousness of having been ungrateful to his benefactor with impunity, and hugging the bribe which he has taken for his honesty. The ballot is the most detestable, selfish, and heartless method of voting, which satan could invent: and will be the destruction of every free people by whom it is adopted. To the honourable it is no concealment, for they make no secret of their opinions; but to dishonesty and hypocrisy, it offers a cloak and leaves the needy and turbulent in the hands of unprincipled demagogues to play upon their passions and ignorance.

You might as well set a man adrift on the wide ocean, without a compass, says Payne, as an ignorant man to think for himself. To such a man it is the

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easiest thing to give the most plausible appearance to the grossest falsehood ; yet these are the men who reign in the United States : they form the majority and select from their number, those who are to direct public affairs. Is it then wonderful that under these circumstances, the nation, notwithstanding the small mixture of worth which it contains should be fast approaching the character of a general pest ; or is it too bold to predict that the period is approaching when America, as was the case in France, shall fall a prey to that mob whose passions she has by her policy inflamed, and in whose hands she has placed irresistible power. Universal suffrage is to precipitate a diseased body into a convulsion from which it can never recover but by revolution. The United States may for a time keep up the semblance of freedom and republican forms as the Romans did ; but the spirit of independent freedom is passing away ; and without the spirit, David becomes Pilate, and Aurelian, Nero.

The character of the men who now govern, is very different from that of the fathers of the Constitution, and as Governments change with the characters who compose them, such has been the case with that of the United States. The healthy man, and he who is dying of inveterate disease, are not more different from one another, than the same political system in virtuous and degenerate times : the form of the machine may be the same, but the materials are become rotten. Though you write your laws in brass, vice will soon dissolve it. Under Washington, the Government of the United States was moderate in its pretensions and just in its general policy. Under Jackson and his successors, it is nourished in blood and versed in corruption, violence, fraud, and selfish-



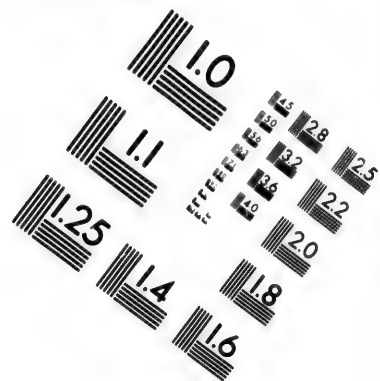
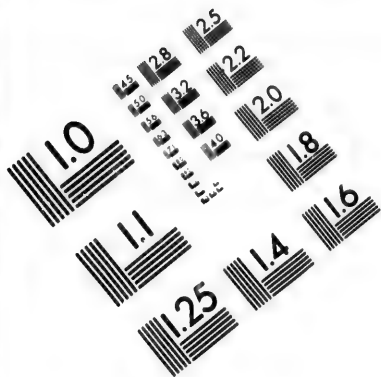
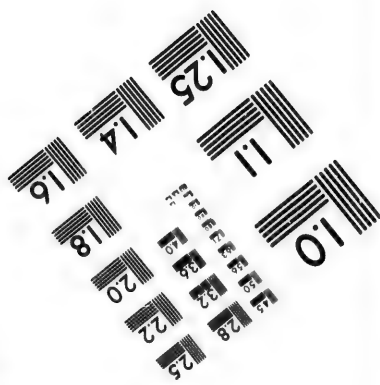
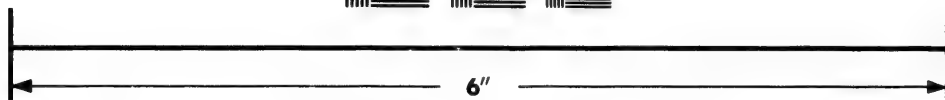
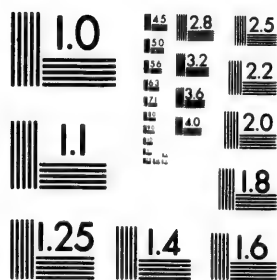


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ness. It cannot therefore continue long or produce peace and security.

Unfortunately for mankind, respect for authority and reverence for virtue, are in the present state of society too much disregarded, and the pretended regenerators of the world depreciate the legitimate influence of kindness, as a badge of slavery, and set at naught the family affections and domestic charities which render the fireside happy; yet it is from these affections and charities carried out, that all felicity on earth must spring.

6th. Were all other causes wanting, the greed of territory would, in no very protracted length of time, dissolve the Union. The old States are already unable to control the General Government, and will very soon be in a hopeless minority, and must then succumb to the south and west. Facts are not wanting to shew that even single States may contend successfully with the General Government, or withdraw if they please from the Confederacy without danger. The Union therefore, in serious conflict with two or more States is helpless, as a rope of sand. It produces no patriotism or love of country. Its chief cement is an extravagant vanity among the people. Moreover, when the country is filled with inhabitants, from the Atlantic shores to the Rocky Mountains, it will fall to pieces, by its own weight, if not sooner dissolved from other causes: for it is not credible that interests so various and important, will be left to the everlasting speaking Congress at Washington.

7th. In no other country either ancient or modern, has party spirit so completely contaminated the public mind; for, to use the language of a native, it pervades the whole country; is found in the rural village.

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in the marts of commerce, in the courts of justice, in the legislative halls, on the floor of Congress; and the President's mansion has, within a few years become a principal receptacle for its vile and loathsome poison. Its power is above the law, and its influence more powerful than the Constitution; before it, every thing hallowed by time or sanctified by religion, falls prostrate. The ties of gratitude, the obligations of justice, the love of country, are destroyed. At its pleasure, like the green withes in the hands of Samson, it spurns all restraint, and teaches that the end sanctifies the means. Its attendants are falsehood, bitter denunciation, envenomed slander, cold hearted unfeelingness, and an utter disregard of probity and honour.

8th. The true root of all the evils which threaten the destruction of the United States and produces the revolutionary movements in Europe, may be traced to the separation of what is falsely called Education, from Religion. The Radical Reformers seek to give all the assistance of Science and the Arts to the malignant and deceitful passions and vicious propensities of the human heart, and to cherish all that corrupt violence which alarms and offends rather than restrains them. To the love of God and man, and all the kindly affections which give peace, enjoyment and happiness to the human family, they are opposed. Were indeed religious principles thus to be planted in the hearts of the rising generation and universally to prevail, violence, fraud and selfishness would quickly disappear. The inmates of every cottage would be sweet contentment and peace. Every palace would invite us with open gates to receive the kindness and bless-

sing of a father. Alas ! they know not the power of truth who seek to separate the light of the Gospel from education. It is an audacious attempt to restrain the power of God from bridling the powers of evil.

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LETTER XI.

WORKING OF THE UNION.

To declare the Colonies integral portions of the Empire, and allow them a representation in Parliament, would remove the greater number of evils which distract and oppress them. The crude and hasty measures so frequently adopted and enforced by the Colonial Department, seldom proceed from design or an intention of doing wrong, but may be in general traced to incorrect information received from agents paid to mislead, or persons from the Colonies who have selfish views and no responsibility. Even sending out commissioners, tends to mystify and deceive. Never was there concocted such a farrago of absolute inanity as the reports of the three sapient Commissioners lately sent to Quebec to inquire into the state of Lower Canada. In two things only did they agree—in their disposition to prostrate every vestige of Sovereignty still retained by the Crown, to an ephemeral popularity, and displaying the most gross and ludicrous ignorance of the real state of the country about which they came to enquire.

The working of the proposed Union may be briefly considered as it respects the mother country—and as it respects the confederation itself.

1st. Were members from each of the Colonies in the House of Commons agitation would soon become a losing trade to British demagogues. They would no longer be able to deceive and to substitute selfish

and false information for that which is true, or induce the Administration of the Queen to pamper traitors into rebellion, and to discourage and trample upon the loyal.

There may be much of liberty and independence in Great Britain but there is also much of the rottenness and licentiousness of what is falsely called freedom. An honest man reading the parliamentary debates, during the American rebellion, becomes disgusted with speeches in defence of treason and insurrection. It makes him sick to find the warmest sympathy and kindness manifested for rebels, and the loyalists treated with contempt; and his indignation cannot be repressed when he is forced to the conviction that what is called American Independence was achieved in the House of Commons, and not by the swords of the insurgents.

But thus it has ever been. Great Britain has always been betrayed by her own factious politicians and degenerate sons. At the commencement of the French Revolution, atrocities which set the hair on end, were applauded in Parliament, and the defenders of their country were stigmatized as the slaves of tyrants. Even now, when traitors are murdering the peaceable and unoffending inhabitants in Canada, and aided by faithless foreigners, are carrying fire and sword into our towns and villages, and destroying the happiness of a whole people, abettors and defenders are heard in the Imperial Parliament cheering them in their work of destruction and striving to detach these fine Colonies from the Parent State, and place them in dependence on a profligate Government which only seeks a good opportunity of going to war with England.

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Never would the abuse of the powers granted to the people of Lower Canada have produced insurrection and rebellion, had it not been for your Humes and Roebucks, who gloating in the price of blood, still glory in corresponding with traitors who are attempting the dismemberment of the Empire. Had there been in the House of Commons, Representatives from the Canadas, the brass of Hume, and the reckless effrontery of Roebuck, would have been made to quail before the truth.

2nd. Such a representation from the Colonies, would, it is believed do much to regulate or repress a sort of mania which prompts the British Government to confer on them a Constitution similar to their own, long before they contain the materials necessary to put it in salutary operation. Such a Constitution in many cases becomes a sad nuisance and in general a fruitful source of misery and discontent. It increases the expense of the Colonies in a prodigious ratio; for the meeting of the General Assemblies cost, in most places, more than half the current revenue; and many a good road and bridge or seminary might be constructed or established, by what are called the contingent expenses of the legislative bodies. They are given to Colonies without the slightest regard to their capacity to use them; and because the British Constitution is said to work well at home, it is foolishly supposed the only form of Government worthy of notice—a cure for every political evil, and equally fit for every stage of society. Sometimes it produces results which might afford sport as quite ludicrous, were they not attended with painful consequences. Thus a constitution was lately given to Newfoundland, and it has been in the wildest com-

motion ever since. In this Island, there are only two classes—the employers and the employed—or merchants and fishers; and as the suffrage is almost universal, the whole power of the Constitution becomes vested in the employed, or servants. A similar Constitution might with equal wisdom be conferred on any great manufacturing establishment. The workmen, as in Newfoundland, would legislate against their masters, refuse to work, indulge in idleness, and dissipate the capital by which in their days of industry they had been supported.

With scarcely 300 electors it is said that Tobago has an Assembly, and that a tavernkeeper and profligate attorney can return a majority of the members. To Lower Canada a form of Government similar to that of Great Britain was given too early. The inhabitants at the time had no true conceptions of civil liberty. Their laws, manners, and habits were totally opposed to free institutions, and to them it has proved a great evil. It has enabled a few profligate ambitious and turbulent characters, by falsehood and misrepresentation to work upon the minds of the rural population till they were goaded into rebellion. Before the late disturbances a happier people did not exist:—free in their persons, industry, and opinions, there was nothing to disturb or grieve them. Not a single penny was ever taken out of their pockets for the support of Government, the expense of which is defrayed out of a small duty imposed on merchandize arriving at Quebec, consumed chiefly by the British part of the population. This trifling duty is not one tenth of that collected on similar commodities in the United States. Even this small sum solely applicable to provincial purposes, is greatly increased by the

money spent in the Colony by the British Government which commonly amounts to six times as much as the whole Provincial Revenue. The people themselves felt not a single grievance, till urged by factious leaders, and even then the greatest anxiety was manifested on the part of the Imperial Government to remove such grievances as were imaginary, since none real could be found. Were history and experience to teach wisdom, there might be hope for the future. But the penal settlements in Australia have already begun to clamour for a constitution; and if they persevere they will succeed: for such is the mania among Englishmen about free governments, that they think no happiness can be enjoyed without them: and of course what so excellent as their own form of government. "When a representative constitution is given to the settlements in Australia, we may bid farewell to anything like peace and comfort in that vast country." But on this subject, deep as the disease lies, much may be done to enlighten the British Legislature by Representatives from the Colonies. They can point out from experience in almost all cases, the miserable working of such constitutions in small settlements, and urge with effect a common sense mode of proceeding—that is, first to train the colonies to liberal principles, step by step, in smaller matters, and after a proper apprenticeship, confer a constitution, because then they may be able to bear it.

3. The consolidation of the empire which the admission of deputies from the colonies presents, would attach heart and soul to the one Legislature, and add immeasurably to its strength and dignity; and cherish an intense affection throughout all the depen-

dencies for everything British. We would feel more near our sovereign by having our own people in her councils; and whilst we rejoiced in the success of all her measures, we would cherish a warm and determined desire to support them. Our sovereign would unite all parties, however dissimilar on lesser matters, and a generous spirit not selfish but noble, would be propagated more strongly in the Colonies than at home. The Colonies would feel that they were now truly British subjects—that their interests in the Imperial Legislature were known and appreciated, and no longer considered vague and of no importance.

4. A Colonial Representation in the House of Commons would be essentially conservative. The deputies know well the pernicious workings of those institutions which appear so perfect and desirable to the British people. They behold at their feet the United States torn to the centre by inveterate faction—all law and justice disregarded, and rolling forward with an impetus that no possible obstacle can now resist, to anarchy, revolution and despotism.—

Experiments on the wildest theories have been made in the American States, and their results are on record. 1st, cheap justice attracted the attention of the people, and a law passed in one of the states to determine law suits by arbitration. It was found that ignorance and knavery prevailed: nothing was settled, or satisfactorily settled, while the expense was multiplied tenfold. Where the relations of men and the transactions of society are complex, laws cannot be simple. The superiority of opposite claims depends upon circumstances varying with time, and often of a delicate or very intricate nature. You cannot dispense justice without making proper dis-

inctions ; and it depends upon the case, not on the Judge or Lawyers, whether these be much involved and difficult to determine.

2. Cheap Governments is another experiment which has been tried in America, and which the free nations of Europe are now raving to procure. And what has been the result ? The most base and unheard of peculation among all the public officers—scarcely one pure, through the whole Union. Judges sitting daily on the bench for less than a menial's wages, but indemnifying themselves from other channels, and laughing at the dupes that placed them there. Public men must be rewarded according to their rank and ability, or they will decline the service of the government ; and inferior men who remunerate themselves a thousand ways, and laugh at the parsimony and credulity of the people, will readily take their places ;—and thus it is in the United States. In this simple, cheap, homely and pure republic, one runs away with two, and another with three hundred thousand pounds. The late celebrated Randolph of Roanoake used to say, the expenses of Congress were an Augean Stable which for twenty years he had endeavored to cleanse, but the more he exerted himself the greater the waste ; and thinking of reynard and the mosquitoes, he finally gave up the attempt. There is no protection from peculation except high and honorable principles—articles extremely rare in all republics, ancient or modern, and subjects of derision among the office holders of the United States.

3. Universal suffrage, which places the wealthy and honest, bound hand and foot, at the mercy of the profligate and turbulent—which destroys industry,

riches and capital ; and prostrates all that is noble in principle, delicate in sentiment, and honorable in conduct ; and hurries the whole community towards anarchy and revolution.

Nor would the return of the Colonial Representatives to resume their seats in the Legislature of the Union, with their enlarged views and subdued experience, be less beneficial. It would infuse a British spirit into the whole confederacy—not theoretic but practical. There would be an identity of views and feelings—a sublime vista of promotion opening itself to the views of our aspiring youth, which no other government under the sun can present. All would feel that they had indeed a country such as no other nation ever possessed, and that though living on the banks of the Ottawa, they had the same privileges as if living on the banks of the Thames :—that the highest offices, appointments and ranks, are equally open to all honourable aspirants, and to be attained by the same honest exertion of talent and ability. A living specimen of all this would ever be present before them in the deputies who had returned after their time of service in the Imperial Parliament had expired, and still more in some who had been promoted, from their superior attainments, to high stations in other parts of the empire, from which they would never return.

As to the working of the union in the Colonies, something has already been said : but here it may be remarked that the deputies would have seen from the contrast between elections in England and in the neighboring States, that their frequency is a very great evil. It keeps both government and people in a state of continual excitement, totally incompatible

with social peace and comfort. Here the true medium of six years is assumed:—a period neither too long nor too short—long enough to enable the Representatives to understand the interests of the people, and yet sufficiently short to secure the approbation of the electors. It is quite obvious that men who are to assemble from the Bay of Fundy, Newfoundland, Labradore and Lake Superior, ought to have a term of office sufficiently long to make them acquainted with their business. It is not by travelling to and from the Legislature in a rail-road car or steam boat, that a man can acquire a just knowledge of the true interests of the Union. Six years are an essential security to liberty, and that the sober and deliberate opinions of the people on public questions, shall, after being well discussed and considered by their representatives, become law. For, to provide for true liberty, and ensure its enjoyment, care should be taken that no measure be adopted without mature deliberation.

Moreover, the superior Assembly has the power of impeachment; and a short time will seldom be sufficient to detect guilt and pursue the offender to conviction. A briefer term would be, to blind the eyes of our watchmen, and to bind the hands which held the sword for our defence.

The deputies would likewise be able to instruct our rising population on many points of which to be ignorant is attended with great evil. They would shew that difference of rank in society is highly beneficial to the general comfort and happiness. It is like the division of labour, and leaves every one to follow his own business unmolested. Rank and office, when allowed a free circulation, as in the British empire,

presents the most desirable state of society which can be conceived. It is a safeguard of freedom, the source of the highest enjoyment, physical and intellectual, and a subject of honest pride and exultation.

In regard to emigration, the union would work admirably; for it possesses localities within its bounds, suitable to people coming from all the different portions of the British empire. Are they fishers from Scilly, Shetland and the Hebrides?—The Banks of Newfoundland, the shores of Labradore and the Gulph of St. Lawrence offer them innumerable stations, and the reasonable hope of acquiring great wealth. Are they agriculturists?—The inland Provinces present millions of acres of the most fertile land in the world.

The Confederacy would have power to protect in a far more effectual manner the fisheries on its shores than has been hitherto done, and thus deprive our natural rivals of a great source of wealth. Moreover, their own fisheries would increase to an infinite degree; and not only give additional strength to the navy, but produce an effectual and cheap bridle to the United States.

Appointments from home to public offices would become rare, because quite unnecessary; and the management of the public lands and revenue could be more easily arranged with one than eight governments.

The Legislature of the Union would with more effect than the separate Colonies, establish a well-devised system of religious and intellectual education, throughout all the provinces. An education which would give uniformity of character to the people;—and while it purified their morals, manners and habits, would direct their attention to the public good.

A system of public instruction becoming the confederacy should direct the energies of youth to proper objects ; substitute knowledge of business for inexperience—an intimate acquaintance with their true interests for blind propensities ; and gradually mould the inhabitants of the different colonies into one great nation. Nor is it Utopian to believe that in a comparatively short time, the French character would relax, and form no distinct portion of the growing nation. But without entering further into detail, it may suffice to remark that to return to representative institutions in Lower Canada, for a long time to come, would be perfect madness : for it would only increase the rancour that bad management has produced between the French and English population. On the whole, the situation of these Provinces will force themselves on the attention of Parliament this session : but what policy it is best to pursue, there is great difficulty in determining. The General Union is a splendid project ; but perhaps the Provinces require a little preparation before it can be judiciously adopted ; and the settlement of the Boundary line seems a preliminary step to its fair consideration.

¶ Till prepared for the union, the best plan would be to modify the law for suspending the constitution of Lower Canada, giving it the full power of the Constitutional Act, and extending its duration to fifteen years. Then to change the language from French to English in all courts of justice and public proceedings—the English law to be introduced, civil as well as criminal—emigration to be promoted and poured in at any expense—the navigation of the St. Lawrence to be opened to the lakes—the British Provinces to be declared integral parts of the empire,

and one or two members admitted from each into the House of Commons.

If, in addition to this, a Colonial Board were established, on nearly the same principles as that foolishly suppressed by Mr. Burke's act, consisting of permanent members, a steady judicious and prosperous administration of all the Colonies might be reasonably anticipated for very many years: for though the Colonial Secretary of State for the time being would of course be at its head, yet he could not easily change the general principles of policy by which its decisions were governed. *D*

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LETTER XII.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

It was remarked in letter third, that one of the advantages resulting from a General Union would be the facility with which the moral and religious improvement of the population might be promoted, and institutions established similar to those in the Parent State, by which they would learn to distinguish between liberty and licentiousness, and between social tranquillity and anarchy.

Every Government is entrusted with the guardianship of the public morals; and accordingly, the world's history presents no people or nation in any state of civilization without Religion. There must be some standard of moral feeling, in order to keep society together. Indeed Religion, either true or false, has been at all times intimately connected with the government and polity of nations; and the farther back we trace any one people, the greater will be found the influence of its modes of worship on its civil administration. Even in the smallest republics the sentiment of a common religion was found necessary as a bond of union among their citizens. All other bonds were liable to be broken by the dissension of parties: but the bitterest political opponents acknowledged that they were the children of one mother when they assisted at the customary rites of their native gods, and worshipped in the temples erected by the piety of their ancestors.

In all the confederations of antiquity, Religion was, in a special degree, the principle of unity, and infused into them all a spirit of nationality. Thus the temple of the Tyrian Hercules became the centre of the Phœnician league ;—that of Jupiter Latiæ of the Latin confederacy : and the Greeks, notwithstanding their perpetual contests, felt that they were one people when they were assembled to celebrate the Olympic Games.

In the great monarchies, which were composed of a mixed multitude of nations of different forms of worship, Religion could not act with equal force as a bond of union ; but it was nevertheless of the greatest importance, as it checked the despotism of military rules, and produced an order of men who, from their superior talents and supposed intimacy with the Gods, possessed a veneration of character and a degree of influence which kept the most absolute tyrants under restraint.

If, then, the wildest superstitions were found useful and necessary to preserve the very form of society, two things follow,—1st. That without religion social order cannot long exist in any country. 2d. That as Religion becomes pure, the body politic becomes happy.

Now among the nations acquainted with Christianity, the question is between it and the absence of all religion : for no sort of Pagan superstition can ever prevail among them. It is therefore justly inferred that no government can continue long either prosperous or happy, where Christianity is known, unless it be publicly professed and acknowledged.—The truth of this is as certain as the truth of the Gospel, and may be easily proved from history, which

uniformly shews that nations are exalted or debased as they revere or reject God's revealed will.

Look at the ancient world, and with the exception of one little spot, it was lying in wickedness. But in that spot there lived a people some thousand years ago, of manners singular and retired and repulsive to strangers; and yet while every other nation was enslaved by superstition of the most odious and degrading character, the Jews were not idolators, but sublime and pure in their worship of the only true God. Some countries advanced farther than they did in the arts and sciences, and some individuals among the heathen attained an eminence in personal virtues: but in religion, other tribes made no favourable progress, and in piety and virtue there was no comparison between the most celebrated of ancient nations and the inhabitants of Judea. And what is remarkable, as we recede from this favoured country, superstition gets more revolting and civilization gradually disappears. And if we talk of general comfort and happiness, in these the Jews stood vastly pre-eminent. For elevation of sentiment, purity of manners, social enjoyment and personal liberty, no contemporary people could offer any such spectacle of popular felicity.

In Judea a teacher of righteousness arose, announcing himself a messenger from Heaven, and wielding all the attributes of the Divinity. The religion which he communicated to mankind, though he perished in the cause, was rapidly spread by his followers, and all the wickedness and splendour of superstition fell before it. Through its propagation Judea now embraces half the world, and will in time cover the whole. By what means?—Not by the

force of arms, but by the progress of sound opinion.

All the nations of Europe, one after another,—Greek, Roman and Barbarian, gloried in the name of the crucified Galilean, and made national profession of the faith. And at this hour, the east and the west, the north and the south, are throwing down their treasures before his manger. This blessed religion is still proceeding, and is gradually making all nations one people, notwithstanding their difference in colour, language and climate, and whether they inhabit the mountain or the plain, the coasts of the ocean or the recesses of the forest. It is breaking down by degrees all corrupt distinctions, and shall yet tame the wild, and restore Ishmael to his father's house, giving him an equal portion, without diminishing that of the son of Sarah.

Christianity will go forward whether we hear or whether we forbear, but woe shall inevitably overtake the nations and individuals who hinder its progress and place themselves in hostility to its holy requirements.

It is a fact of singular importance, that no nation known to history, with the exception of the United States, ever existed without an established form of worship: and that some signal judgment has not already destroyed that exception, may be accounted for from the circumstance that Christianity prevails to a considerable extent among the people, and therefore a space may be given for repentance: but already symptoms of destruction appear. Anarchy is making rapid strides, and the foundations of the social compact are giving way.

The devout believer in the Bible can have no more patience or sympathy with professing Christians who

place themselves in opposition to religious establishments, than with the avowed infidel : for such institutions are scriptural and sanctioned by heaven. An ecclesiastical establishment was ordained among the Jews by God himself, and though in some respects inapplicable to the Christian revelation, it involves the great principle of National Religion, and may with some modifications be adapted to all nations believing in the Gospel. It would indeed be monstrous if a religious establishment moulded by the hands of God yielded no instruction—no practical Example for human guidance. Far from admitting so profane and impious a supposition, we boldly avow that no sincere and enlightened reader of his bible can be opposed to National Church Establishments, or hesitate in admitting that the Jewish Church, separated from what was evidently special and temporary, furnishes the best ground-work of a national religious polity, and will operate in every sanctified mind as a clear revelation of the will of God, that every nation professing Christianity is bound to make provision for its being taught to all its people.

Nothing can be more clear than that the enemies of ecclesiastical establishments never read their Bibles with a sincere view of ascertaining the truth.—For in every page such an institution stands forth in bold relief, and presents a brief but complete refutation of all their objections.

Nor are the Scriptures less conclusive against making the Clergy dependent for their maintenance on the voluntary offerings of those whom they are appointed to instruct. The divine economy placed the ministers of religion in absolute independence of

popular will or caprice, as well in regard to pecuniary support as to appointment and removal.

But although the ministers of religion among the Jews were secured in a comfortable maintenance adequate to their wants and station in society, scope was still left for the manifestation of the spontaneous affection of the people towards them, and to their zeal also on special occasions when public spirit was likely to meet the demand. There was an annual gratuity to the Priests, left to the liberality of the people, and such as might give excitement to pious regard towards them and open the way for a reciprocal feeling on the part of the Clergy. It was also the usage of the Jewish Church, following the example of Moses, to appeal to the generosity of the nation whenever the house of God needed extensive repairs, or was to be rebuilt, or synagogues erected. A generous enthusiasm was thus enkindled and always surpassed the necessities of the occasion.

The Jewish polity, as established by God himself, likewise furnishes a complete refutation of the monstrous dogma of modern infidels and political dissenters, that governments ought to have no business with religion. "Thou shalt provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, to be rulers of thousands, &c., and let them judge the people at all seasons." In the teeth of this, modern reformers in Church and State prefer men without religion. Whether they or God be right, judge ye.

The administrators of government ought undoubtedly to be religious. They are individuals amenable to God, and being appointed to act in high trusts, it is their duty to sanctify their acts as public men by the

offices of religion, otherwise their acts cannot be acceptable, but displeasing to God, and destructive to themselves. Irreligious men are in truth incapable of discharging the functions of government. When a nation is piously administered, it possesses the means of conveying religion to every one of its families: it has all the qualifications and conscientious inducements, spiritual and secular, to make its people religious—those who cannot afford to pay as well as those who are indifferent and disinclined; and to all it offers a prevailing example.

An established Church is therefore of infinite advantage to the well being of any nation. It preserves the purity of doctrine which ought to be the first consideration in every christian country, and sanctifies the State by maintaining the purity of political practice. In private life it gives confidence and uniformity to virtue and true dignity of manners. It secures the religious instruction of the whole population and fixes their minds on the purest principles, from which they cannot be easily shaken. Spread over the whole land, they cannot be influenced by any sudden wind of doctrine. Moreover, fortified by their creeds and Liturgies, standards of truth resting on the Bible, and with forms sanctioned by apostolic usage, they are kept steady in the true path, and proceed with a regularity eminently conducive to right-mindedness and holiness of life.

It is the duty of an Established Church to present religion with authority, to be what it really is, the first object of every man—his noblest interest—and what ought ever to be nearest his heart. Such an institution affords a general refuge for and defence of religious truth—a magnificent example of purity of

doctrine, and a model of clerical manners and learning. Accordingly, among no class of men will there be found such exemplary purity of manners and conduct in all respects, as among the established Clergy of Great Britain and Ireland.

There is perhaps no greater blessing possessed by any nation than that which the mother country enjoys in having so many men whose behaviour and attainments are unquestionably far above the average, established as permanent residents all over the kingdom. The Protestant Church of the British Empire is the ballast of the state, the sheet anchor of its power, and the dispenser of the only sure principles of action—principles which, professed and steadily adhered to, must produce prosperity and felicity, and from which to depart is to fail. These principles embodied in the forms of the Church, and engrained in the hearts of the people, offer a permanent and formidable check to vice and folly in every shape. It is too large to be suddenly acted upon, and too much controlled by long established habits of feeling and opinion and complicated discipline, to yield to transient impressions, however general they may be for a time.

In fine, an established Christian Church is essential to the permanent existence of every government, and to the public good, and teaches those principles only on which all governments ought to be conducted. Completely independent in her spiritual character, she yields not her principles to the will of kings, ministers, Statesmen or the people: and therefore it becomes essentially necessary that she should be allied to the State. She is the only fixed body in any country, able to influence its proceedings, to give it

strength and an inclination of steady obedience to the people.

It will become the duty of the General Government to introduce a religious establishment for the United Provinces; and this can easily be done by giving body and efficacy to that of the Parent State. Indeed the Sister Churches of England and Scotland might be so regulated, as to proceed harmoniously through all the Colonies. They promote true morality and purity of life: they keep piety warm: without being enthusiastic, they become the mother of good works, the guide and sweetener of life, the cordial of disease, the conqueror of death. Such an establishment should have no other exclusive right than the support of its Clergy. All other denominations should be equally free; every body should have it in his power to adopt that form of Christian worship which pleased him better. The Government should only say, we have established for your benefit, the best form of Christianity that we know, but we force you not to attend its ministrations: if you think you can do better, we shall be glad; we wish you to be religious, and any form of Christianity sincerely professed, is better than infidelity.

O. T.

4th March, 1839.

ERRATUM.

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In Letter V. Page 44, for the Table there given,
read as follows:—

TABLE.

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Councillors.</i>	<i>Representatives.</i>
Upper Canada.....	500,000.....	6.....	20
Lower Canada,	700,000.....	6.....	28
New Brunswick.....	250,000.....	6.....	10
Nova Scotia,	225,000.....	6.....	9
Cape Breton,	75,000.....	6.....	8
Prince Edward,	75,000.....	6.....	8
Newfoundland,	90,000.....	6.....	8
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Provinces, 7	1,915,000	42	91